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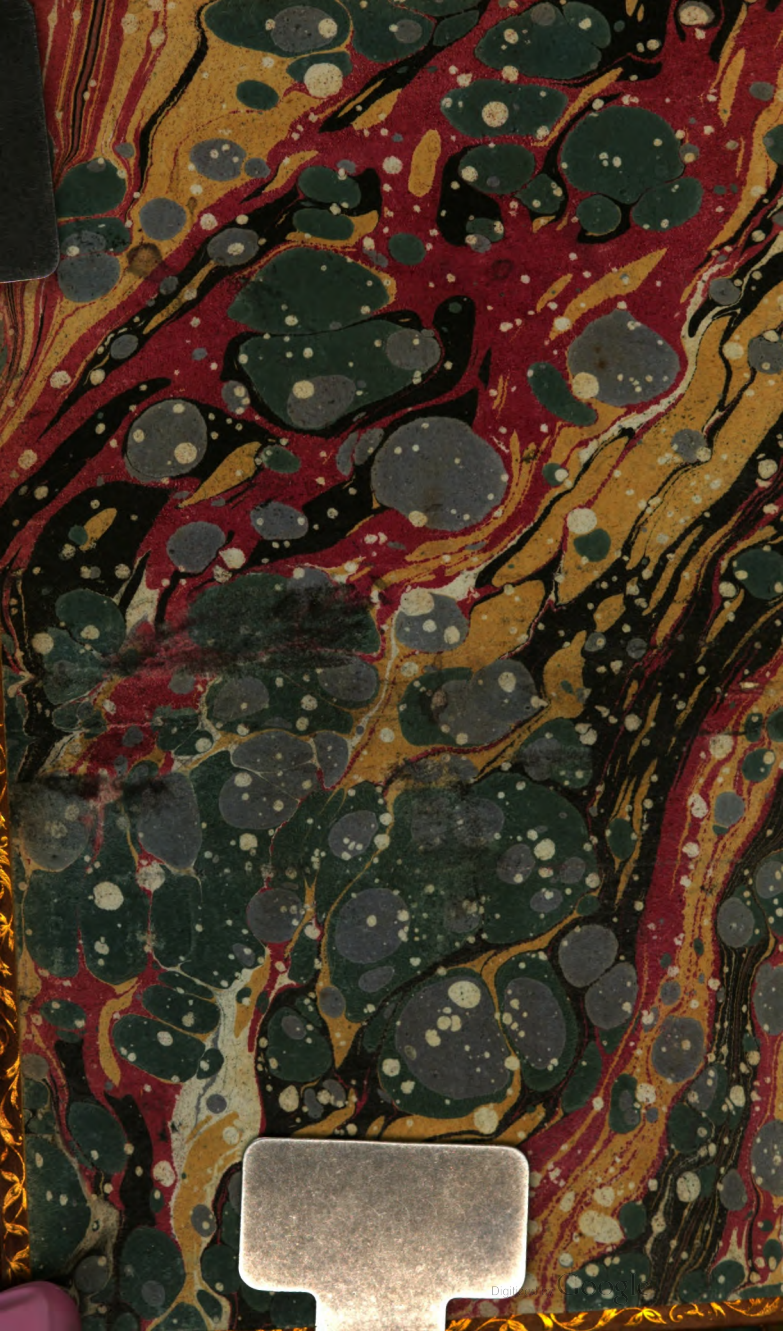
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T H E
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
O F
SIR RICHARD STEELE;
VOLUME THE SECOND.
CONTAINING
L E T T E R S
TO AND FROM
HIS FRIENDS AND PATRONS;
NOW FIRST COLLECTED,
AND ILLUSTRATED WITH
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ANECDOTES,
By JOHN NICHOLS.

L O N D O N,

Printed by and for the EDITOR;

And sold by J. ROBSON and W. CLARKE, New Bond-street;
G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster Row;
J. WALTER, Charing-cross; and C. DILLY, in the Poultry. 1787.

T H E
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
O F
SIR RICHARD STEELE.
I N T W O V O L U M E S.

Hail, mighty name! of all thy pen
Has dropt, to charm both gods and men,
Time nor oblivion ne'er shall boast
One line or single period lost!
Improving youth, and hoary age,
Are better'd by thy matchless page!
Maintain, great Sage, thy deathless name,
Thou canst no wider stretch thy fame.
Till, gliding from her native skies,
Virtue once more delighted flies;
By each adoring Patriot own'd,
And boasts herself by thee enthron'd.

M DCC LXXXVII.

* * * Entered at STATIONERS'-HALL.

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STEELE'S

S T E E L E ' S

LETTERS to HIS FRIENDS.

L E T T E R CCCLXXXV.

To the Right Honourable the Lord CUTTS*,
Colonel of his Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of
Guards, &c.

MY LORD, Tower Guard, March 23, 1701.

THE address of the following papers is so
very much due to your Lordship, that
they

* John Lord Cutts, a soldier of most hardy bravery in King William's wars, was a younger son of Richard Cutts, esq. of an ancient and distinguished family, settled about the time of Henry VI. at Matching in Essex, where they had considerable property. His father removed to Childerley in Cambridgeshire, on a good estate being given him by Sir John Cutts, bart. who died without issue. This estate, after the decease of an elder brother, devolved on John; who sold it, to pay incumbrances, to equip himself as a soldier, and to enable himself to travel. After an academical education at Cambridge, he entered early into the service of the D. of Monmouth, and followed his fortunes abroad; was aid-de-camp to the Duke of Lorraine in Hungary, and signalized himself in a very extraordinary manner at the taking of Buda by the Imperialists in 1686; which important place had been for near a century and a half in the hands of the Turks. Mr. Addison, in a Latin poem worthy of the Augustan age, plainly hints at Mr. Cutts's distinguished bravery at that siege. He was afterwards colonel of a regiment in Holland under the

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States,

that they are but a mere report of what has passed upon my guard to my commander, for they

States, and accompanied King William to England, who continued his favour towards him, and created him baron Cutts of Gowran in Ireland, Dec. 6, 1690. He was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, April 14, 1693; made a major-general; and, when the assassination-project was discovered, 1695-6, was captain of the King's guard. He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of George Clark of London, merchant (relict of John Morley, of Glynd, in Suffex, and after, of John Trevor, esq. eldest brother to the first Lord Trevor). This lady died in Feb. 1692; and that same year he had both his legs hurt in the battle of Steenkirk. His second wife, an amiable young woman, dying in 1697 at the age of 18, was celebrated in an admirable sermon by Atterbury. In 1695, and the three following parliaments, he was regularly elected one of the representatives both for the county of Cambridge, and for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight, but made his election for the former. In two parliaments which followed (1702 and 1705) he represented Newport. In 1698 he was complimented by Mr. John Hopkins, as one to whom "a double crown was due," as a hero and as a poet. In 1699, he is thus introduced in a compliment to King William on his conquests:

"The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings,

"The true best servant of the best of kings;

"Cutts, whose known worth no herald needs proclaim,

"His wounds and his own worth can speak his fame."

He was colonel of the Coldstream, or second regiment of guards, in 1701; when Steele, who was indebted to his interest for a military commission, inscribed to him his first work, "The Christian Hero." On the accession of Queen Anne, he was made a lieutenant-general of the forces in Holland. Feb. 13, 1702-3, he was appointed commander in chief of the English forces on the continent during the absence of the Duke of Marlborough; commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond, March 23, 1704-5; and afterwards one of the lords justices of that kingdom, to keep him out of the way of action, a circumstance which broke his heart. He died at Dublin,

they were writ upon duty, when the mind was perfectly disengaged, and at leisure, in the silent watch

Dublin, Jan. 26, 1706-7, and was buried there in the cathedral of Christ-church. He was a person of eminent natural parts, well cultivated by study and conversation; of a free, unreserved temper; and of undaunted bravery and resolution. As he was a servant to Queen Mary when Princess of Orange, and learned the trade of war under her Consort, he was early devoted to them both, and a warm supporter of the Revolution. He was an absolute stranger to fear; and, on all occasions, gave distinguishing proofs of his intrepidity, particularly at the siege of Limerick, in 1691, at the memorable attack of the castle of Namur in 1695, and at the siege of Venlo in 1702. Macky says of him, in 1703, "He hath abundance of wit, but too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave. Few considerable actions happened in this as well as the last war, in which he was not, and hath been wounded in all the actions where he served; is esteemed to be a mighty vigilant officer, and for putting the military orders in execution; he is pretty tall, lusty, well-shaped, and an agreeable companion; hath great revenues, yet so very expensive, as always to be in debt; towards fifty years old." Swift, in a MS. note on Macky, calls him, with his usual laconic cruelty, "The vainest old fool alive." He wrote a poem on the death of Queen Mary; and published, in 1687, "Poetical Exercises, written upon several Occasions, and dedicated to her Royal Highness Mary Princess of Orange; licensed March 23, 1686-7, Roger L'Estrange." It contains, besides the dedication signed "J. Cutts," verses to that Princess; a poem on Wisdom; another to Mr. Waller on his commending it; seven more copies of verses (one of them called "La Muse Cavalier," which had been ascribed to Lord Peterborough, and as such mentioned by Mr. Walpole in the list of that nobleman's writings), and eleven songs; the whole composing but a very thin volume; which is by no means so scarce as Mr. Walpole supposes it to be. The author speaks of having more pieces by him. A specimen of his poetry (of which the five first lines are quoted by Steele in his fifth Tatler) is added in the following page:

watch of the night, to run over the busy dream of the day; and the vigilance which obliges us to suppose an enemy always near us, has awakened a sense that there is a restless and subtle one which constantly attends our steps and meditates our ruin*.

Thoughts of this nature a man may with freedom acknowledge to your Lordship, who

“ Only tell her that I love,
 Leave the rest to her and Fate;
 Some kind planet from above
 May perhaps her pity move;
 Lovers on their stars must wait;
 Only tell her that I love.
 Why, oh, why should I despair?
 Mercy's pictur'd in her eye:
 If she once vouchsafe to hear,
 Welcome Hope, and welcome Fear.
 She's too good to let me die;
 Why, oh, why should I despair?”

* “ Being thoroughly convinced,” he says, “ of many things, of which he often repented, and which he more often repeated, he writ, for his own private use, a little book, called, ‘ The Christian Hero,’ with a design principally to fix upon his own mind a strong impression of virtue and religion, in opposition to a stronger propensity towards unwarrantable pleasures. This secret admonition was too weak; he therefore printed the book with his name, in hopes that a standing testimony against himself, and the eyes of the world (that is to say, of his acquaintance) upon him in a new light, might curb his desires, and make him ashamed of understanding and seeming to feel what was virtuous, and living so quite contrary a life. This had no other good effect, but that from being thought no un- delightful companion, he was soon reckoned a disagreeable fellow. One or two of his acquaintance thought fit to misuse him, and try their valour upon him; and every body he knew measured the least levity in his words and actions with the character of a Christian Hero.” Apology, p. 296.

have

have ever been so far from running into the fashionable vice of exploding religion, that your early valour first appeared against the professed enemies of Christianity; and Buda had transmitted you to late posterity, but that you yourself have obliterated your part in that glorious scene by the fresher memory of you at Limerick and Namur.

With one honest purpose of life, and constant service of one interest and one cause, in what country have you not fought? in what field have you not bled? But I know I here offend you, nor will you allow warmth in commendation to be like a friend; but if, my Lord, to speak you generous, honest, and brave, be not friendly, I do assure you it is the only thing I will ever do in common with your enemies.

I said your enemies; but if there are any who have ignorance or malice enough to be such, their little hates must be lost in the distinction the better world allow you; and that county* (whose discerning is refined by a learned and elegant university) has done you so great an honour in making you unanimously their representative in parliament, that they who would oppose your reputation, do but confess they are unacquainted with what passes in the world, and strangers to the residence of knowledge and virtue. It was there you received those rudiments

* Cambridgeshire; see p. 280.

of honour, which have rendered your life conspicuous enough to make you appear a worthy descendant of an ancient and distinguished family, which has served the Crown in the most eminent stations, and been equally favourites of their country; it was there you imbibed those impressions which inspire that true use of your being, which so justly divides your time between labour and diversion, that the one does but recreate for the other, and which give a generous contempt of both when in competition with the service of that country which you love, and that God whom you worship.

Go on, my Lord, thus to contemn, and thus to enjoy life; and, if some great English day does not call for that sacrifice which you are always ready to offer, may you in a mature age go to sleep with your ancestors, in expectation, not of an imaginary fame, but a real and sensible immortality.

As for the present I now make you, if you will accept it with your usual goodness and affection to me, I shall entertain no farther hopes; for as your favour is my fortune*, so your approbation is my fame. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, most faithful, and most humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

* Steele, who was at this time an ensign in the Guards, and principal secretary to Lord Cutts, obtained, by the interest of his kind patron, a captain's commission in the Lord Lucas's regiment of fusiliers.

LETTER

LETTER CCCLXXXVI†.

To the Right Hon. the Countess of ALBEMARLE †.

MADAM,

[1702].

AMO^{NG} the many novelties with which your Ladyship, a stranger in our nation, is daily entertained, you have not yet been made acquainted with the poetical English liberty, the right of dedication; which entitles us to a privilege of celebrating whatever, for its native excellence, is the just object of praise; and is an ancient charter, by which the Muses have always a free access to the habitation of the Graces. Hence it is that this comedy waits on your Ladyship, and presumes to welcome you amongst us; though indeed, Madam, we are surprized to see you bring with you, what we thought was of our own growth only, an agreeable beauty; nay, we must assure you, that we cannot give up

† Prefixed to "The Funeral, or Grief à-la-mode, a Comedy, 1702." The success of this performance was chiefly owing to the zeal of his fellow-soldiers, arising from his interest in the army.

‡ Mabella, 2d daughter of s'Gravemore, the general of the forces to the States-General, whom Steele calls "Mr. Scravenmore;" but who in Collins's Peerage is termed "S. Gravemore;" probably for "s'Gravemore." She was married, a short time before this epistle was written, to the first Earl of Albemarle, with whom Steele was connected in his military capacity, as colonel of the first troop of horse-guards; and it was probably through his Lordship's recommendation of this comedy that Steele attained the notice and favour of King William. Our author's name, &c. to be provided for, were in the last table-book ever worn by that glorious and immortal Monarch. Apology, p. 297.

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so dear an article of our glory, but assert it by our right in you : for if it is a maxim founded on the noblest human law, that of hospitality, that every soil is a brave man's country, England has a very just pretence of claiming as a native, a daughter of Mr. Scravenmore.

But your Ladyship is not only endeared to us by the great services of your father, but also by the kind offices of your husband, whose frank carriage falls in with our genius; which is free, open, and unreserved; in this the generosity of your tempers makes you both excel in so peculiar a manner, that your good actions are their own reward; nor can they be returned with ingratitude, for none can forget the benefits you confer so soon as you do yourselves.

But ye have a more indisputable title to a dramatic performance than all these advantages; for ye are yourselves, in a degenerate low age, the noblest characters which that fine passion that supports the stage has inspired; and as you have practised as generous a fidelity as the fancies of poets have ever drawn in their expecting lovers, so may you enjoy as high a prosperity as ever they have bestowed on their rewarded : this you may possess in an happy security, for your fortunes cannot move so much envy, as your persons do love. I am, Madam, your Ladyship's most devoted humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCLXXXVII*.

To his Grace the Duke of ORMOND †.

MY LORD,

[1704].

OUT of gratitude to the memorable and illustrious patron of my infancy, your Grace's grandfather †, I presume to lay this
Comedy

* Prefixed to "The Lying Lover, or the Ladies Friendship, a Comedy, 1704."

† James Butler, Duke of Ormond, born April 29, 1665, was sent to France at ten years of age, and on his return admitted of Christ-church, Oxford, of which university he was afterward chancellor; succeeded to his grandfather's titles, July 21, 1688; in 1689, was made a gentleman of the bed-chamber, captain of the second troop of guards, and knight of the garter; in 1702, generalissimo of the forces against Spain; lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Feb. 4, 1702-3; and again, Oct. 19, 1710; captain-general, Jan. 1, 1711-12, and had the first regiment of guards; was lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Dover castle. (Burnet observes, "he had the same appointments which were voted criminal in the Duke of Marlborough.") On the arrival of King George I. at Greenwich, the Duke of Ormond came, with uncommon splendour, to pay his court; but was told by the Lord Townshend, "the King had no longer occasion for his service in the quality of captain-general; but that his Majesty would be glad to see him at Court." Withdrawing into France, he was attainted Aug. 20, 1715; and died, Nov. 16, N. S. 1745, at Madrid, in the 81st year of his age.

† Steele's father, a counsellor at law, was some time private secretary to James, the first Duke of Ormond. From the turn of expression in the beginning of this letter, it seems not improbable, that Mr. Steele sent his son to the Charter-house-school by the direction of the Duke of Ormond abovementioned, who was one of the governors of that hospital, and who probably, if he had lived long enough, might have been very serviceable to the son of his secretary; who "cocked his hat," however, "and put on a
"broad-

Comedy at your feet : the design of it is, to banish out of conversation all entertainment which does not proceed from simplicity of mind, good-nature, friendship, and honour : such a purpose will not, I hope, be unacceptable to so great a lover of mankind as your Grace ; and if your patronage can recommend it to all who love and honour the Duke of Ormond, its reception will be as extensive as the world itself.

It was the irresistible force of this humanity in your temper that has carried you through the various successes of war, with the peculiar and undisputed distinction, that you have drawn your sword without other motive than a passionate regard for the glory of your country : since, before you entered into its service, you were possessed of its highest honours, but could not be contented with the illustrious rank your birth gave you, without repeating the glorious actions by which it was acquired.

But there cannot be less expected from the son of an Offory, than to condemn life to adorn it ; and with munificence, affability, scorn of

“ broad-sword, jack-boots, and shoulder-belt, under the Duke’s command,” before “ he was acquainted with his own parts ;” and, “ from the same humour which he ever after preserved, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune, lost the succession to a very good estate in the county of Wexford, by mounting a war-horse with a great sword in his hand, and planting himself behind King William against Lewis XIV.” See his Theatre, N^o XI.

gain,

gain, and passion for glory, to be the honour and example to the profession of arms: all which engaging qualities your noble family has exerted with so steadfast a loyalty, that, in the most adverse fortune of our monarchy, popularity, which in others had been invidious, was a security to the Crown, when lodged in the House of Ormond.

Thus your Grace entered into the business of the world with so great an expectation, that it seemed impossible there could be any thing left, which might still conduce to the honour of your name. But the most memorable advantage your country has gained this century, was obtained under your command*; and Providence thought fit to give the wealth of the Indies into his hands, who only could despise it; while, with a superior generosity, he knows no reward but in opportunities of bestowing. The great personage whom you succeed in your honours made me feel, before I was sensible of the benefit, that this glorious bent of mind is hereditary to you; I hope, therefore, you will pardon me, that I take the liberty of expressing my veneration for his remains, by assuring your Grace that I am, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient, and most devoted, humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

* Alluding to the Duke's successes against the Spaniards at Cadiz, &c. in 1702.

U LETTER

L E T T E R CCCLXXXVIII*.

To Mr. ADDISON.

S I R,

[1705].

YOU will be surprized, in the midst of a daily and familiar conversation, with an address which bears so distant an air as a public dedication: but, to put you out of the pain which I know this will give you, I assure you I do not design in it, what would be very needless, a panegyric on yourself, or, what perhaps is very necessary, a defence of the play. In the one I should discover too much the concern of an author, in the other too little the freedom of a friend.

My purpose, in this application, is only to shew the esteem I have for you, and that I look upon my intimacy with you as one of the most valuable enjoyments of my life. At the same time, I hope, I make the town no ill compliment for their kind acceptance of this Comedy, in acknowledging that it has so far raised my opinion of it, as to make me think it no improper memorial of an inviolable friendship.

I should not offer it to you as such, had I not been very careful to avoid every thing that might look ill-natured, immoral, or prejudi-

* Prefixed to "The Tender Husband;" which was first acted in 1704, but not printed till 1705.

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tial to what the better part of mankind hold sacred and honourable.

Poetry, under such restraints, is an obliging service to human society; especially when it is used, like your admirable vein, to recommend more useful qualities in yourself, or immortalize characters truly heroic in others. I am here in danger of breaking my promise to you, therefore shall take the only opportunity that can offer itself of resisting my own inclinations, by complying with yours. I am, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCLXXXIX.

TO DR. SWIFT.

DEAR SIR, Lord Sunderland's Office, Oct. 8, 1709.

MR. Secretary Addison went this morning out of town, and left behind him an agreeable command for me, *viz.* to forward the inclosed, which Lord Halifax sent him for you. I assure you, no man could say more in praise of another than he did in your behalf at that noble Lord's table on Wednesday last. I doubt not but you will find by the inclosed the effect it had upon him. No opportunity is omitted among powerful men, to upbraid them for your stay in Ireland. The company that day at dinner were Lord Edward Russel, Lord Essex, Mr. Mayn-

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waring,

waring, Mr. Addison, and myself. I have heard such things said of that same Bishop of Clogher *, with you, that I have often said he must be entered *ad eundem* in our House of Lords. Mr. Philips † dined with me yesterday; he is still a shepherd, and walks very lonely through this unthinking crowd in London. I wonder you do not write sometimes to me.

The town is in great expectation from Bickerstaff; what passed at the election for his first table ‡ being to be published this day sevensnight. I have not seen Ben Tooke § a great while, but long to usher you and yours into the world. Not that there can be any thing added by me to your fame, but to walk bare-headed before you. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

* Dr. St. George Ash.

† Ambrose Philips, the author of "The Distressed Mother," a tragedy, and some pastorals, &c.

‡ See TATLER, N^o 81, and *notes*, in new edition.

§ The bookseller.

LETTER

LETTER CCCXC*.

To Mr. MAYNWARING †.

SIR,

[1710].

THE state of conversation and business in this town having been long perplexed with pretenders in both kinds; in order to open mens eyes against such abuses, it appeared no unprofitable undertaking to publish a Paper, which should observe upon the manners of the pleasurable, as well as the busy part of mankind. To make this generally read, it seemed the most proper method to form it by way of a Letter of Intelligence, consisting of such parts as might gratify the curiosity of persons of all conditions, and of each sex. But a work of this nature

* Prefixed to the first volume of "The Tatler."

† Arthur Maynwaring, esq. "His works set the character of his genius above the reach of the criticism of others, and he was himself allowed universally to be the best critic of his times." Biogr. Brit. art. HUGHES. Remark I.

"His learning was without pedantry; his wit without affectation; his judgement without malice; his friendship without interest; his zeal without violence; in a word, he was the best subject, the best friend, the best relation, the best master, the best critic, and the best political writer in Great Britain." Egerton, Memoirs of Mrs. Oldfield.

He died in 1712, aged 44, and left his estate to be equally divided between his sister, his son, and his son's mother. It amounted to little more than 3000l. His "Life and Posthumous Works" were published by Mr. Oldmixon, 1715, 8vo; whence a full account of him has been inserted in the "Biographical Dictionary, 1784."

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requiring time to grow into the notice of the world, it happened very luckily, that, a little before I had resolved upon this design, a gentleman * had written predictions, and two or three other pieces in my name, which rendered it famous through all parts of Europe; and, by an inimitable spirit and humour, raised it to as high a pitch of reputation as it could possibly arrive at.

By this good fortune the name of Isaac Bickerstaff gained an audience of all who had any taste of wit; and the addition of the ordinary occurrences of common Journals of News brought in a multitude of other readers. I could not, I confess, long keep up the opinion of the town, that these Lucubrations were written by the same hand with the first works which were published under my name; but, before I lost the partition of that author's fame, I had already found the advantage of his authority, to which I owe the sudden acceptance which my labours met with in the world.

The general purpose of this Paper † is to expose

* Dr. Swift. See Swift's "Works," vol. III. p. 198. See also Steele's Original Preface to the TATLER.

† "During the prevalence of parties and prejudices, he that would be believed by every body, should be known to nobody, lest, instead of listening to the good advice of the censor, the censured should endeavour, by retorting on *his* frailties, to extenuate or justify *their own*."

"Although the TATLER joined an odd surname to no very
"common

pose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and to recommend a general simplicity in our dress, our discourse, and our behaviour. No man has a better judgement for the discovery, or a nobler spirit for the contempt of all imposture, than yourself; which qualities render you the most proper patron for the Author of these Essays. In the general, the design, however executed, has met with so great success, that there is hardly a name now eminent among us for power, wit, beauty, valour, or wisdom, which is not subscribed * for the encouragement of these volumes. This is, indeed, an honour, for which it is impossible to express a suitable gratitude; and there is nothing could be an addition to the pleasure I take in it, but the reflection, that it gives me the most conspicuous occasion I can ever have, of subscribing myself, Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

ISAAC BICKERSTAFF.

* common Christian one, there was a man found in this large town, who owned both the names. SWIFT's "Letters," vol. XV. p. 408.

* See the lists at the beginning of the new edition.

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LETTER

LETTER CCCXCI*.

TO EDWARD WORTLEY MONTAGUE, Esq. †

SIR, [1710].

WHEN I send you this volume, I am rather to make you a request than a

* Prefixed to the second volume of "The Tatler."

† Second son of the Hon. Lady Wortley Montague, and grandson of Edward Montague, the first Earl of Sandwich. He was chosen a member of parliament for Huntingdon in the 4th year of Queen Anne; and in all other parliaments but two to the end of her reign. On the accession of George I. he was constituted one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury: and being sent Ambassador-extraordinary to the Grand Signior, he set out for Vienna, Jan. 27, 1716, and proposed to be at Peterwaradin in eight days; and, having finished his negotiations, he, with his Lady, arrived at Leghorn, Aug. 22, 1718, in the Preston man of war, from Constantinople, and sailed the next day for Toulon; and, travelling through France, arrived in England, and waited on his Majesty at Hampton-court, Oct. 4 following, and was graciously received. In the first parliament called by King George I. he was chosen for the city of Westminster, and afterwards served for Huntingdon, and was a member for the city of Peterborough when he died, it is said, very suddenly, Jan. 22, 1761, aged 80 years, without being able to alter his will, as he intended, in favour of his son, an extraordinary and ingenious man, author of the "Reflections on the Rise and Fall of ancient Republics," &c. of whom see several new and interesting particulars in the Notes on TATLER, vol. I. p. xli. Mr. Montague married the Lady Mary Pierrepont, eldest daughter to his Grace Evelyn Duke of Kingston, an uncommonly fine woman, of very superior understanding, authoress of a little volume of excellent poems, and three volumes of curious letters; and by her (who died August 21, 1762), he had issue the abovementioned only son Edward-Wortley Montague, who was representative in three parliaments for Bosciney in Cornwall; and a daughter Mary, married to John Stuart, Earl of Bute, Aug. 24, 1736.

Dedication.

Dedication. I must desire, that if you think fit to throw away any moments on it, you would not do it after reading those excellent pieces with which you are usually conversant. The images which you will meet with here, will be very faint, after the perusal of the Greeks and Romans, who are your ordinary companions. I must confess, I am obliged to you for the taste of many of their excellencies, which I had not observed until you pointed them to me. I am very proud that there are some things in these Papers which I know you pardon; and it is no small pleasure to have one's labours suffered by the judgement of a man, who so well understands the true charms of eloquence and poesy. But I direct this address to you; not that I think I can entertain you with my writings, but to thank you for the new delight I have, from your conversation, in those of other men.

May you enjoy a long continuance of the true relish of the happiness Heaven has bestowed upon you! I know not how to say a more affectionate thing to you, than to wish that you may be always what you are; and that you may ever think, as I know you now do, that you have a much larger fortune than you want. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

ISAAC BICKERSTAFF.

LETTER

LETTER CCCXCII*.

ISAACO BICKERSTAFF, Armigero, Magnæ Britanniæ
Censori, S.

9 Cal. Jun. 1710.

MORLÆ encomium Thomæ Moro, cui nil erat magis alienum quàm *Mori* nomen, Erasmus inscripsit: nec ergo quis miretur has *Obscurorum Virorum* Epistolas Viro *Clarissimo*, hos Morologos Moriâ ipsâ stultiores Tibi mitti, ISAACE GRAVISSIME; qui unus, inter tot nunguendos potiùs quàm scriptores ubique nunc temporis ad nauseam obvios, nosti non ineptire: qui scis *ex fumo* (ut ait Flaccus) *dare lucem*; in gracili materiâ sterilique argumento copiosè juxtà atque sapienter differere, inter ludicra serius, inter jocos philosophus; qui ridiculum acri, dulci utile miscendo, junctis ingenii simul et argumentorum viribus, Britannos potes tam feliciter à vitiis deterrere, ad virtutem hortari.

Patere, Cato Britannice, ex obsoletis seculi superioris rudibus altâque quam superstitio intulerat ignorantia, istud Arcadicum hominum specioso Theologorum Magistrorumve nomine insolenter gloriantium pecus accerfi; et æternâ licet nocte dignos, à tenebris tamen ad lucem, à

* On the subject of this letter to Steele, which was prefixed to "Epistolarum Obscurorum Virorum, ad Dm. Ortuinum Gratium, Volumina II." See the Notes on the TATLER, vol. V. p. 211.

mortuis

mortuis ad vivos provocari, tibi que pro tribunali fisti; ut post nostri seculi ineptias, et ineptos, illas explosas, hos sepultos, non etiam desint, quas explodas, quos sepelias: cum nempe volo Magnæ Britanniae Censorem, qui non solum in præsentem sed et præteritas ætates ultrò citroque jus censoriæ authoritatis exerceat.

Nolim autem mihi id vitio verti, quòd Theologos hic in medium protraham, et deridendos propinem. Cum enim Theologia omnium Disciplinarum Regina ab ipso Numine jus in se derivaverit, procul absit, ut illius cultores despicatui habeam, ut potiùs ex omni non modò Republicâ, sed ex finibus humanæ naturæ exterminandos arbitrer, quotquot Theologiam aut ejus Ministros divino illo jure ac dignitate spoliare contendunt. Si aliter sentirem, næ tuum patrocinium defugissem, Vir Integerrime, cui curæ fuit, ut morum bonorum ac pietatis jura facta ac tecta ab omni piaculo conservares. At verò credo me culpam minimè commeruisse, si eos insecter, qui majori ignorantia an malitia freti in Theologiam involant; qui venerabili Theologiæ gradu, et optimis beneficiis tumidi, novis, et hætenus inauditis opinionibus, Republicæ statum convellunt; qui eò quòd Theologorum titulo magis quàm meritis ornentur, ideo tantum sibi arrogant, ut omnem abjiciant ac relinquant obedientiam, ne modò rationi pareant, cui ipsâ naturæ lege subiecti sunt; qui
pro

pro Magistrali suâ dignitate in cunctos inferiores ferulam vibrant; quique longo quantumvis *togæ* firmate ferocientes *pallium* tamen brevius indui debuerunt, quo minùs incautos fallant.

Hujusmodi Theologos tanto quod per summum decus usurpaverunt nomine exui, et loco moveri dignos in conspectum adduxi, Lepidissime Morum Castigator, ut ab omnibus publicitus exhibentur. Hanc ineptiarum farraginem duxi nunquam commodiùs extrudi posse, quàm cum Natio in risum prona, morionibus et nugis magis impensè delectetur. Nationis equidem patientiam nequeo non obiter suspicere, et mecum stomachari, quæ libellos istos quotidie impune libertate plusquam vernili vagantes, affaniis puris putis refertos, legere sustineat; feratque illud *Observatorum*, *Revisorum* et cæterorum scurrarum vulgus, vocibus nonnisi *Barbaris* effrendum. Ætas profectò Censore dignissima, qui hanc effrænem scribendi licentiam virgâ notet, et reprimat; istosque nugatores, nisi inter vivos * morari ulteriùs desinant, ad Vespillones damnet! Age, Vir insignissime; prodeat tandem tamdiu desideratus tuarum lucubrationum liber, facundo illo silentii, quod in ipsis tam disertè expressisti, præconio celebrandus. Ex illis discant Lectores scriptorésque, illi quid legi, hi quid scribi potissimum cum fructu non

* Sueton. in Vit. Neron. Claud. cap. 33.

minori quàm voluptate deceat. Interea dum illas expectamus, præludant *Hæ obscurorum. Epistolæ* *, quarum elaborata barbaries, et solæcismi, legentem in cachinnos solvant, et quicquid ridiculi vanæque levitatis in pectore residet, adeo exhauriant, ut ad tuas postea Lucubrations perlegendas, animus defæcator, et à nugis expurgator accedat: quippe medici solent corpus ægrum medicamentis purgare, quò meliùs ad victum salubriorem fumendum preparetur. Denique obscuri isti homunciones, quibus nil quicquam vixit insulsius, longo pòst tempore jam tandem resipiscunt; famiam, quam olim non potuerunt, conantur nunc aucupari; à coætaneis suis audiri vix meruerunt, nunc in spem et lectores et emptores sibi conciliandi veniunt: vivi pro mortuis meritò habebantur; mortui verò nunc vivere et inclarescere incipient, ubi primùm eorum *Epistolæ* nomine tuo insignitæ præfulgebunt.

Vale, Vir Eruditissime; nostrisque moribus diu ac feliciter consule.

* "The purpose of the work," says Steele, *Tatler*, N^o 197, "is signified in the dedication, in very elegant language, and fine raillery. It seems this is a collection of letters which some profound blockheads, who lived before our times, have written in honour of each other, and for their mutual information in each other's absurdities. They are mostly of the German nation, whence, from time to time, inundations of writers have flowed, more pernicious to the learned world, than the swarms of Goths and Vandals to the publick."

LETTER

LETTER CCCXCIII*.

TO WILLIAM Lord COWPER, Baron of Wingham†.

MY LORD, [1710].

AFTER having long celebrated the superior graces and excellencies among men, in an imaginary character, I do myself the honour to shew my veneration for transcendent merit under my own name, in this address to your Lordship. The just application of those high accomplishments of which you are master, has been an advantage to all your fellow-subjects; and it is from the common obligation you have laid upon all the world, that I, though a private man, can pretend to be affected with, or

* Prefixed to the third volume of "The Tatler."

† William Cowper, esq. soon after being called to the bar, was appointed one of King William's counsel; he succeeded Sir Nathan Wright, as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Oct. 11, 1705; was created Baron Cowper of Wingham, Nov. 9, 1706; and appointed Lord Chancellor, May 4, 1707; which post he held till Sept. 25, 1710. On the accession of King George, he was appointed again Lord Chancellor, Sept. 21, 1714; and, on resigning the great seal, was created Earl Cowper, and Viscount Fordwich, March 18, 1717-18. He generously declined accepting New-years-gifts from the counsellors at law, which had been long given to his predecessors; and, what is still more to his honour, foresaw and opposed the destructive measures of the South-sea bubble in 1720. He died Oct. 10, 1723. It is recorded, and ought always to be mentioned to the honour of Lord Cowper, that when he was Chancellor, though in friendship with the Duke of Marlborough, and of the same political principles, he nobly refused, and persisted in his refusal, to put the broad seal of his office to a tremendous commission for making his Grace *Generalissimo* for life,

take the liberty to acknowledge, your great talents and public virtues.

It gives a pleasing prospect to your friends, that is to say, to the friends of your country, that you have passed through the highest offices, at an age when others usually do but form to themselves the hopes of them. They may expect to see you in the House of Lords as many years as you were ascending to it. It is our common good, that your admirable eloquence can now no longer be employed, but in the expression of your own sentiments and judgement. The skilful pleader is now for ever changed into the just judge; which latter character your Lordship exerts with so prevailing an impartiality, that you win the approbation even of those who dissent from you; and you always obtain favour, because you are never moved by it.

This gives you a certain dignity peculiar to your present situation *, and makes the equity, even of a Lord High Chancellor, appear but a degree towards the magnanimity of a Peer of Great-Britain.

Forgive me, my Lord, when I cannot conceal from you, that I shall never hereafter behold you, but I shall behold you, as lately, defending the brave and the unfortunate †.

* He had just resigned the office of Lord Chancellor.

† The *brave* means the Duke of Marlborough. But who was the *unfortunate*?

When

When we attend to your Lordship engaged in a discourse, we cannot but reflect upon the many requisites which the vain-glorious speakers of antiquity have demanded in a man who is to excel in oratory ; I say, my Lord, when we reflect upon the precepts by viewing the example, though there is no excellence proposed by those rhetoricians wanting, the whole art seems to be resolved into that one motive of speaking, sincerity in the intention. The graceful manner, the apt gesture, and the assumed concern, are impotent helps to persuasion, in comparison of the honest countenance of him who utters what he really means. From whence it is, that all the beauties which others attain with labour, are in your Lordship but the natural effects of the heart that dictates.

It is this noble simplicity which makes you surpass mankind in the faculties wherein mankind are distinguished from other creatures, reason and speech.

If these gifts were communicated to all men in proportion to the truth and ardour of their hearts, I should speak of you with the same force as you express yourself on any other subject. But I resist my present impulse, as agreeable as it is to me ; though indeed, had I any pretensions to a fame of this kind, I should, above all other themes, attempt a panegyric upon my Lord Cowper : for the only sure way
to

to a reputation for eloquence, in an age wherein that perfect orator lives, is to choose an argument, upon which he himself must of necessity be silent. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most devoted, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE *.

L E T T E R CCCXCIV †.

To Lord HALIFAX.

MY LORD, April 7, 1711.

From the Hovel at Hampton-wick ‡.

WHEN I first resolved upon doing myself this honour, I could not but indulge a certain

* "When Steele's patent, as Governor of the Theatre-royal, passed the Great Seal, Lord Chancellor Cowper, in compliment to Sir Richard, would receive no fee." Life of C. Cibber, 1756, vol. II. p. 47.

† Prefixed to the fourth volume of "The Tatler."

‡ Steele built, and inhabited for a few years, an elegant house adjoining to the side of the palace, which he called by this name. Not long after the date of this letter, being embarrassed by his *vanity of profusion, or his imprudence of generosity*, he borrowed 1000l. of Addison on this house and its furniture, giving bond and judgement for the re-payment of the money at the end of twelve months. On the forfeiture of the bond, Addison's attorney proceeded to execution, "the house and furniture were sold, the surplus Addison remitted to Steele, with a genteel letter, stating the friendly reason of this extraordinary procedure, *viz.* "to awaken him, if possible, from a lethargy that must end in his inevitable ruin." Steele received the letter with his wonted composure and gaiety, met his friend as usual, and the friendship subsisted to the end of Addison's life, *with a few little bickerings*

X

[says

certain vanity in dating from this little covert, where I have frequently had the honour of your Lordship's company, and received from you very many obligations. The elegant solitude of this place, and the greatest pleasures of it, I owe to its being so near those beautiful manors wherein you sometimes reside. It is not retiring from the world, but enjoying its most valuable blessings, when a man is permitted to share in your Lordship's conversations in the country. All the bright images which the Wits of past ages have left behind them in their writings, the noble plans which the greatest Statesmen have laid down for administration of affairs, are equally the familiar objects of your knowledge. But what is peculiar to your Lordship above all the illustrious personages that have appeared in any age, is, that wit and learning have from your example fallen into a new æra *. Your patron-
age

[says Dr. Birch] *on æconomical occasions*. Addison, it seems, dealt at this time with his friend, as he did afterwards with his favourite, Sir Roger de Coverley, whom he deliberately killed, thro' fear that somebody might murder him. But this is not the place to enter farther into the particulars, or the discussion of this story, &c. It is only necessary to say here, that it makes part of a letter to Mr. Garrick, from a man of reputed veracity, who professes that he had his relation first from the celebrated actor Mr. Wilks, and afterwards a full confirmation of it from Steele's own lips, who, it is said, always considered this step as meant by his friend "to do him service." Victor's "Orig. Letters, &c." 1776, vol. I. p. 328 and 329. See Letter LIX. p. 42, and Letter LXV. p. 46.

* "Of him," says Dr. Johnson, "who from a poet became a
"patron

age has produced those arts, which before shunned the commerce of the world, into the service of

“ patron of poets, it will be readily believed that the works would
 “ not miss of celebration. Addison began to praise him early,
 “ and was followed or accompanied by other poets; perhaps by
 “ almost all except Swift and Pope, who forbore to flatter him in
 “ his life, and after his death spoke of him, Swift with slight
 “ censure, and Pope, in the character of Bufo with acrimonious
 “ contempt. He was, as Pope says; *sed with dedications*; for
 “ Tickell affirms, that no dedicator was unrewarded. Many
 “ a blandishment was practised upon Halifax, which he would ne-
 “ ver have known had he had no other attractions than those of his
 “ poetry, of which a short time has withered the beauties. It
 “ would now be esteemed no honour, by a contributor to the
 “ monthly bundles of verses, to be told that, in strains either fa-
 “ miliar or solemn; he sings like Montague.” Dr. Johnson’s
 “ Lives of English Poets,” vol. II. p. 298, &c. ed. 8vo. 1781.

The character of Halifax, however, is not to be estimated by his verses only. His Lordship’s great good-nature and moderation, his distinguished eminence and usefulness as a statesman, his signal proficiency in literature and taste, his general patronage of men of wit and letters, and his marked attention to science, which is a plant that cannot thrive, even in the apt soil of England, without watering, deservedly entitled him to the praises of scholars, which are not always given with nice judgment, or in due proportion; and, in a way not dishonourable to the givers or the receivers, account sufficiently for what Dr. Johnson calls “ the blandishments that were practised upon Halifax.” Mr. Stepney, himself no bad poet, bequeathed “ to Prior 50 pounds, and to Lord Halifax a golden cup and 100 tomes of his library.” This nobleman, to his great honour, was, to the end of his life, peculiarly kind and serviceable to Steele, who was of congenial political principles, and lived long with him in habits of familiarity and friendship. If the accomplishments of Lord Halifax had even been fewer, and his merit less than the generality of his contemporary writers lead us to believe, our author’s account of him claims particular regard and credit. Steele, who knew him well, had a penetrating understanding, and an independent spirit. His pen was always ready at the service of his friends and his party, but it was always

of life; and it is to you we owe, that the man of wit has turned himself to be a man of business. The false delicacy of men of genius, and the objections which others were apt to insinuate against their abilities for entering into affairs, have equally vanished: and experience has shewn, that men of letters are not only qualified with a greater capacity, but also a greater integrity in the dispatch of business*. Your own studies have been diverted from being the highest ornament, to the highest use to mankind; and the capacities which would have rendered you the greatest poet of your age, have, to the advantage of Great Britain, been employed in pursuits

guided by a strict regard to truth, and a nice sense of honour; and though gratitude, or friendship, might induce him to lavish, nothing could have swayed him to prostitute, praise. These considerations are surely sufficient to exempt what is said here, and in Letter CCCCII. from the imputation of intentional flattery, and to furnish, so far as Steele's testimony goes, a strong presumption, if not a decisive proof, in favour of Lord Halifax. To the last mentioned letter, and the note upon it, the reader is referred for a more particular account of this amiable and respectable nobleman. See also Theobald's account of him, soon after his Lordship's death, which was caused by an inflammation in his lungs, May 19, 1715. "Censor," vol. I. N^o 28, pp. 197, 198, &c.

* Apparently an intended compliment to several of Steele's friends, and particularly to Addison, who, though he never remitted the fees of his office, never would accept of any more than was stated and customary. A remarkable instance of this integrity was, his refusal of a bank note of 300*l*. and afterwards of a diamond ring of the same value, from a Major Dunbar, ascertained by an original letter of Addison himself, for which the publick were originally indebted to the publications of Edmond Curll.

which

which have made you the most able and unbiassed patriot. A vigorous imagination, an extensive apprehension, and a ready judgement, have distinguished you in all the illustrious parts of administration, in a reign attended with such difficulties, that the same talents, without the same quickness in the possession of them, would have been incapable of conquering. The natural success of such abilities, has advanced you to a seat in that illustrious house *, where you were received by a crowd of your relations. Great as you are in your honours, and personal qualities, I know you will forgive an humble neighbour the vanity of pretending to a place in your friendship, and subscribing himself, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, and most devoted servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCXCV.

To Mr. POPE.

SIR,

July 26, 1711.

I WROTE to you the other day, and hope you have received my letter. This is for the same end, to know whether you are at leisure to help Mr. Clayton †, that is, *me*, to some words for musick against winter.

* He was made a peer in 1700.

† In the SPECTATOR, N^o 258, Dec. 26, 1711, is a letter, signed, "Thomas Clayton, Nicolino Haym, and Charles Dieupart," announcing the plan of their intended concerts in York-buildings, and the terms of the subscription.

X 3

Your

Your answer to me at Will's will be a great favour to, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCXCVI.

To Mr. HUGHES.

DEAR SIR,

1711.

MR. CLAYTON and I desire you, as soon as you can conveniently, to alter this poem* for music, preserving as many of Dryden's words and verses as you can. 'Tis to be performed by a voice well skilled in recitative; but you understand all these matters much better than your affectionate humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

* "Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music, an Ode for St. Cecilia's Day." Agreeably to this request, Mr. Hughes made several alterations in that admired ode. See his "Poems," vol. II. p. 71. But what his opinion was of the music both of that and of "Sappho's Ode by Philips," will appear from the following letter. The honour of doing justice to Dryden, as well as to Milton, was reserved for Handel, who composed "Alexander's Feast" in 1736.—"It is to be regretted," says Dr. Warton, in his 'Essay on Pope,' "that Mr. Handel has not set to music 'Pope's Ode' as well as Dryden's." But should it not be observed, that that excellent poet, as well as judge of music, Mr. Hughes, was the first who altered "Alexander's Feast" for music? "Monthly Review," vol. XIV. p. 549.—This note is from Mr. Duncombe's collection of "Letters by several eminent Persons deceased, &c." vol. I. p. 65.

LETTER

LETTER CCCXCVII.

MR. HUGHES TO MR. STEELE

DEAR SIR,

[1711].

SINCE you have asked my opinion about the music, I take it for granted you would have me give it you; and therefore I will shew how faithfully I intend always to obey you, in doing it with a freedom, which I would be loth to use to one for whom I had less friendship, and in whose candour and integrity I did not think myself safe.

I shall therefore, without taking any hints from others, just give you some few observations which have occurred to me as well as I could judge upon the first hearing.

That which seems to me to strike most are the prelude-bases, some of which are very well fancied; but I am afraid they are in themselves too long, especially when repeated; for prelude-bases are only to begin the subject of the air, and do not shew any composition (which consists in the union of parts) so that, if they are not artfully worked afterwards with the voice-part, they are no proof of skill, but only of invention.

The symphonies in many places seem to me perplexed, and not made to pursue any subject or point.

The last air of Sappho begins too chearfully for the sense of the words. As well as I can guess, without seeing the score, it is in D sharp, from which it varies (in another movement of time) into B flat 3d, and so ends, without returning to the same key either flat or sharp. This being one continued air (though in two movements of time), let some master be asked, Whether it is allowable (I am sure it is not usual) to begin an air in one key sharp, and end it in a different key flat? For though the passage is natural, the closing so is, I believe, always disallowed.

The overture of Alexander ought to be great and noble; instead of which, I find only a hurry of the instruments, not proper (in my poor opinion) and without any design, or fugue, and, I am afraid, perplexed and irregular in the composition, as far as I have any ideas or experience. Enquire this of better judgements.

The duet of Bacchus is chearful, and has a good effect; but that beginning "Cupid, Phœbus," &c. I cannot think shews any art, and is, in effect, no more than a single air. Nothing shews both genius and learning more than this sort of composition, the chief beauty of which consists in giving each voice different points, and making those points work together, and interchange regularly and surprisngly, or one point following itself in both the voices, in a kind

kind of canon, as it is called. These artfulnesses, when well executed, give infinite delight to the ear ; but that which I have mentioned is not formed after those designs, but where the voices join, they move exactly together in plain counterpoint, which shews little more than a single air.

I think the words in general naturally enough expressed, and, in some places, pathetically : but, because you seem to think this the whole mystery of setting, I take this opportunity to assure you, that it is as possible to express words naturally and pathetically in very faulty composition, as it is to hit a likeness in a bad picture. If the music in score, without the words, does not prove itself by the rules of composition, which relates to the harmony and motion of different notes at the same time, the notes in the singing parts will not suffice, though they express the words ever so naturally. This is properly the art of composition, in which there is room to shew admirable skill, abstracted from the words ; and in which the rules for the union of sounds are a kind of syntaxis, from which no one is allowed to err. I do not apply this last particular to any thing, but only to give you a general idea of what is composition. Yet, upon the whole, as far as I am able to judge, the music of Sappho and Alexander, though in some places agreeable, will not please masters.

Having

Having thus given you my thoughts freely and impartially (in which perhaps I may be mistaken) I will trust your good sense for the use that may be made of this; and I beg it may not prejudice me with Mr. Clayton or yourself, and that you will not let him know of this, but only inform yourself farther from others, on the hints here given.

I should not, you may be sure, give you or myself this trouble, but that I do not know how far it may concern your interest to be rightly informed, which is the only regard I have in shewing you this way how much I am,
Sir, yours, &c. JOHN HUGHES.

L E T T E R CCCXCVIII.

To the SPECTATOR *.

Aug. 2, 1711.

I WENT this evening to visit a friend, with a design to railly him, upon a story I had heard

* This extract from the Spectator, No CXXXIII. is selected to do justice to the memory of a friend of Steele, whose kindness he acknowledges in several passages of the preceding letters (see pp. 51, 54, 55, &c.). On good authority it may be now told, that the character here so affectionately drawn, is that of Stephen Clay, esq. This gentleman was the son and heir of Edmund Clay, a haberdasher in London; was admitted of the honourable Society of the Inner Temple, Nov. 16, 1693, and called to the Bar, Nov. 24, 1700.

Great pains have been taken to recover some account of this ingenious Lawyer; but they have not been attended with much success. The two following short poems may probably incline the

heard of his intending to steal a marriage without the privity of us his intimate friends and acquaintance. I came into his apartment with

the reader to sympathize in the regret that this enquiry has not been more fruitful of discoveries :

THE MAID'S COMPLAINT ; A SONG, by STEPHEN CLAY, Esq.

Custom, alas ! does partial prove,
Nor gives us even measure ;
A pain to maids it is to love,
But 'tis to men a pleasure.
They freely can their thoughts explain,
But ours must burn within ;
We have got eyes and tongues in vain,
And truth from us is sin.
Men to new joys and conquests fly,
And yet no hazards run ;
Poor we are left if we deny,
And if we yield, undone.
Then equal laws let custom find,
Nor thus the sex oppress ;
More freedom give to womankind,
Or give to mankind less.

SONG, in Imitation of an Ode of HORACE to BARINE.

By STEPHEN CLAY, Esq.

Oh ! that I could one blemish find,
To moderate my pain !
On that alone I'd fix my mind,
And you shall charm in vain.
I ran thy face and body o'er,
But thou art lovely there ;
Thy speech, thy mind, I did explore,
Thou'rt lovely every where.
Through all mankind you spread desires,
Old age no freedom knows ;
And as each youth to man aspires,
Your empire larger grows.
But all that's female you must shun,
Their envy sooths your pride,
You rob the mother of her son,
And of her spouse the bride.

See Roscommon's Miscellaneous Works, 1709, 8vo. Part VIII.
that

that intimacy which I have done for very many years, and walked directly into his bed-chamber, where I found my friend in the agonies of death. What could I do? The innocent mirth in my thoughts struck upon me like the most flagitious wickedness: I in vain called upon him; he was senseless, and too far spent to have the least knowledge of my sorrow, or any pain in himself. Give me leave then to transcribe my soliloquy, as I stood by his mother, dumb with the weight of grief for a son who was her honour, and her comfort, and never till that hour, since his birth, had been an occasion of a moment's sorrow to her.

“ How surprising is this change! from the
 “ possession of vigorous life and strength, to be
 “ reduced in a few hours to this fatal extremity!
 “ Those lips, which look so pale and livid,
 “ within these few days gave delight to all who
 “ heard their utterance! It was the business, the
 “ purpose of his being, next to obeying him (to
 “ whom he is going), to please and instruct, and
 “ that for no other end but to please and in-
 “ struct. Kindness was the motive of his ac-
 “ tions, and, with all the capacity requisite for
 “ making a figure in a contentious world, mo-
 “ deration, good-nature, affability, temperance,
 “ and chastity, were the arts of his excellent
 “ life. There as he lies in helpless agony, no
 “ wise man, who knew him so well as I, but
 “ would

“ would resign all the world can bestow to be so
“ near the end of such a life. Why does my
“ heart so little obey my reason as to lament
“ thee, thou excellent man!—Heaven receive
“ him, or restore him!—Thy beloved mother,
“ thy obliged friends, thy helpless servants,
“ stand around thee without distinction. How
“ much wouldst thou, hadst thou thy senses,
“ say to each of us!

“ But now that good heart bursts, and he is
“ at rest! With that breath expired a soul who
“ never indulged a passion unfit for the place he
“ is gone to! Where are now thy plans of jus-
“ tice, of truth, of honour? of what use the
“ volumes thou hast collated, the arguments
“ thou hast invented, the examples thou hast
“ followed? Poor were the expectations of the
“ studious, the modest, and the good, if the
“ reward of their labours were only to be ex-
“ pected from man. No, my friend, thy in-
“ tended pleadings, thy intended good offices
“ to thy friends, thy intended services to thy
“ country, are already performed (as to thy
“ concern in them) in his sight before whom the
“ past, present, and future, appear at one view.
“ While others with thy talents were tormented
“ with ambition, with vain glory, with envy,
“ with emulation, how well didst thou turn thy
“ mind to its own improvement in things out
“ of the power of fortune, in probity, in inte-
“ grity,

7

“grity, in the practice and study of justice; how
 “silent thy passage, how private thy journey,
 “how glorious thy end! *Many have I known*
 “*more famous, some more knowing, not one so*
 “*innocent.*”

L E T T E R C C C X C I X .

To the Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

MY LORD,

Jan. 1, 1711-12.

IT was with the utmost consternation I, this day, heard your Grace had received a dismissal from all your employments*: and lest you should, out of the softness which is inseparable from natures truly heroic, believe this a diminution of your glory, I take the liberty to express to you, as well as I can, the sense which mankind has of your merit.

That great genius with which God has endowed you, was raised by Him, to give the first notion, that the enemy was to be con-

* “On the 30th of December, the Queen declared in council, that her Majesty being acquainted, that an information against the Duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons, by the commissioners of the public accounts; her Majesty thought fit to dismiss him from all employments, that that matter might take an impartial examination; and the next day her Majesty sent his Grace a letter, written with her own hand, signifying her royal pleasure to resume all the employments she had intrusted him with.” *Life of Queen Anne*, p. 415.

quered :

quered : till you were placed at the head of armies, the Confederates seemed contented to shew France that she could not overcome Europe; but it entered not into the heart of man, that the rest of Europe could conquer France. When I have said this, my Lord, there arise in my soul so many instances of your having been the ministering angel in the cause of Liberty, that my heart flags, as if it expected the lash of Slavery, when the sword is taken out of his hand who defended me and all men from it. Believe me, Immortal Sir, you have a slighter loss in this change of your condition than any other man in England. Your actions have exalted you to be the chief of your species; and a continued chain of successes, resulting from wise counsels, have denominated you the first of mankind in the age which was blessed with your birth. Enjoy what it is not in the power of fate itself to take from you, the memory of your past actions. Past actions make up present glory. It is in the power of mortals to be thankless to you for doing them; but it is not in their power to take from you that you have done them. It is in the power of man to make your services ineffectual in consequences to your country; but it is not in their power to make them inglorious to yourself. Be not therefore you concerned; but let us lament, who may suffer by your removal. Your glory is augmented

mented by comparison of your merit to the reward it meets with: but the honour of your country—

It is as impossible to do you dishonour, as to recall yesterday; your character is indelible in the book of fame: and though, after a few turbulent years, it will be said of us, the rest of mankind, “they were;” it will be to the end of time said, “Marlborough is.” My Lord, you are possessed of all the English glory of the whole age in which you live; and all who shall be transmitted to posterity, must pass down only memorable, as they have exerted themselves in concert with you, or against you, with endless honour as your friends, infamy as your enemies. The brightest circumstance that can be related of the Queen herself will be, it was she for whom Marlborough conquered. Since it is thus, my Lord, if even the glorious edifice which your country decreed should be erected to perpetuate your memory, stand unfinished, let it stand so a monument of the instability of human affairs. Your glory is not changed because the rest of mankind are changeable. It is not your fault that other generals have received a greater reward for escaping your valour, than you have for making them fly before it.

Had it pleased God that we had lost you by your mortality, the greatest man next to you
would

would have had the mitigation of his inferior desert, that the same age could not produce such another : but how will he do to avert the eyes of all mankind, upon all exigencies, from looking towards you yet living ?

My noble Lord, be convinced that you cannot be disgraced ; that your stand in human life is immutable ; that your glory is as impassive as the fame of him who died a thousand years ago. Whence is it that we thus love you, that we thus honour you ? It is from the very qualities which lay you open to the assaults of your enemies. That sweet complacency, that admirable spirit, which is so tempered for the arts of common life, makes us lose our wonder in love. Is that amiable man, with that easy gesture, that gentle, beseeching mien, the man terrible in battle, the scourge of tyrants ? My Lord Marlborough, do not think there are not men who can see your several accomplishments, your excellencies, that expose you to the possibility of being ill-treated. We understand you too well not to see, and to thank you, that you come home, as if you had never heard the acclamations of the universe ; that your modesty and resignation have made your transcendent, your heroic, your god-like virtue, capable of being blended in society with other men. And, my Lord, do you think we can let that virtue be dangerous to you, which only makes your other

Y

qualities

qualities not dangerous to us? Accept, O familiar, O amiable, O glorious man, the thanks of every generous, every honest man, in Great-Britain. Go on in your easy mien of life, be contented we see you, we admire you, we love you the more. While you are, what you cannot cease to be, that mild virtue is your armour; the shameless ruffian that should attempt to fully it, would find his force against it as detestable as the strength of a ravisher in the violation of chastity, the testimonies of a perjured man confronting truth, or clamour drowning the voice of innocence. I am, my Lord, your grateful fellow-subject, and faithful friend,

SEOTO-BRITANNUS *.

L E T T E R CCCC†.

To Lord SOMERS ‡.

MY LORD,

[1711-12].

I SHOULD not act the part of an impartial Spectator, if I dedicated the following papers to one who is not of the most consummate and most acknowledged merit.

* Should it be said, this is a name which Steele was not likely to have adopted; let it be remembered, that he published the letter as his own in his "Political Writings."

† Prefixed to the first volume of "The Spectator."

‡ This distinguished Lawyer was born at Worcester in 1652. He was first taken notice of at the trial of the Seven Bishops, for whom he was one of the counsel. See p. 324.

None

None but a person of a finished character can be the proper patron of a work, which endeavours to cultivate and polish human life, by promoting virtue and knowledge, and by recommending whatsoever may be either useful or ornamental to society.

I know that the homage I now pay you is offering a kind of violence to one who is as solicitous to shun applause, as he is assiduous to deserve it. But, my Lord, this is perhaps the only particular in which your prudence will be always disappointed.

While justice, candour, equanimity, a zeal for the good of your country, and the most persuasive eloquence in bringing over others to it, are valuable distinctions; you are not to expect that the publick will so far comply with your inclinations, as to forbear celebrating such extraordinary qualities. It is in vain that you have endeavoured to conceal your share of merit in the many national services which you have effected. Do what you will, the present age will be talking of your virtues, though posterity alone will do them justice*.

Other men pass through oppositions and contending interests in the ways of ambition; but your great abilities have been invited to power, and importuned to accept of advancement. Nor

* Mr. Walpole, for one, has done them justice, in his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors."

is it strange that this should happen to your Lordship, who could bring into the service of your Sovereign the arts and policies of ancient Greece and Rome; as well as the most exact knowledge of our own constitution in particular, and of the interests of Europe in general; to which I must also add, a certain dignity in yourself, that (to say the least of it) has been always equal to those great honours which have been conferred upon you.

It is very well known how much the Church owed to you, in the most dangerous day* it ever saw,

* This *most dangerous day* was June 29, 1688, the very day on which the Seven Bishops, who had been committed to the Tower by that wicked chancellor, Jefferys, for modestly petitioning King James II. to excuse them from reading his declaration of his *dispensing power* in matters of religion, were tried in Westminster-hall, and acquitted, to the universal joy of the nation. In this famous trial, our Author's patron, then only Mr. Somers, was one of the learned counsel for the bishops, and, for his noble defence of those prelates, who were then generally styled the *seven golden candlesticks*, he was, by King William, made Solicitor-general, May 7, 1689; then Attorney-general, May 2, 1692, and knighted; and Lord Keeper, 1693. April 21, 1697, he was created Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, and made Lord Chancellor of England; from which post he was removed in 1700, and in 1701 impeached by the Commons, but acquitted on his trial by the Lords. He then retired to his studies, and was chosen President of the Royal Society. In 1706, he projected the Union. In 1708, Queen Anne made him Lord President of the Privy Council; but, on the change of her ministry in 1710, he was also displaced. Towards the latter end of the Queen's reign he grew very infirm; which probably was the reason why he had no other post than a seat at the council-table at the accession of King George I. He died of an apoplectic fit, April 26, 1716, after having for some time unfortunately

saw, that of the arraignment of its prelates; and how far the civil power, in the late and present reign, has been indebted to your counsels and wisdom.

But to enumerate the great advantages, which the publick has received from your administration, would be a more proper work for an history, than for an address of this nature.

Your Lordship appears as great in your private life, as in the most important offices which you have borne. I would, therefore, rather choose to speak of the pleasure you afford all who are admitted into your conversation, of your elegant taste in all the polite parts of learning, of your great humanity and complacency of manners, and of the surprising influence which is peculiar to you in making every one who converses with your Lordship prefer you to himself, without thinking the less meanly of his own talents. But if I should take notice of all that might be observed in your Lordship, I should have nothing new to say upon any other character of distinction. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most devoted, most obedient, humble servant,

THE SPECTATOR.

unfortunately survived the powers of his understanding. This letter of Steele gives a lively sketch of his character; but surely no man's was ever better depicted by a pen than this nobleman's is by Mr. Addison in that admirable paper, intituled, "The Freeholder," published on the 4th of May (the day of his Lordship's interment), to which the curious are referred. His writings are too well known to need enumeration.

Y 3

LETTER

LETTER CCCC.

TO CHARLES LORD HALIFAX*.

MY LORD,

SIMILITUDE of manners and studies is usually mentioned as one of the strongest motives to affection and esteem; but the passionate veneration I have for your Lordship, I think, flows from an admiration of qualities in

* In a note on a former epistle to this nobleman, p. 308, this further account of him was promised.

Mr. Charles Montague, grandson to an Earl of Manchester, was taken much notice of at Cambridge, for his "City and Country Mouse," a satire on Mr. Dryden. Being brought to Court at the Revolution, he was constituted one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, March 2, 1691-2; Chancellor of the Exchequer, in May 1694. The coin being exceedingly debased and diminished, he formed the design of calling in the money, and re-coining it, in 1695; which was effected in two years: to supply the immediate want of cash, he projected the issuing of Exchequer bills. For this service, he had the thanks of the House of Commons in 1697. He was next year appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury; and, resigning that post in June 1700, obtained a grant of the office of Auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer; and the same year, Dec. 13, was created Baron Halifax. On the accession of King George I. he was a member of the regency; was appointed First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, Oct. 5, 1714; created Viscount Sunbury and Earl of Halifax, Oct. 15; and died May 15, 1715.—"Addison has celebrated this Lord in his Account of the greatest English Poets. Steele has drawn his character in the second volume of the Spectator, and in the fourth of the Tatler; but Pope, in the portrait of Bufo, in the Epistle to Arbuthnot, has returned the ridicule which his Lordship, in conjunction with Prior, had heaped on Dryden's Hind and Panther." Walpole's Catalogue, vol. II. p. 116.

you,

you, of which, in the whole course of these papers *, I have acknowledged myself incapable. While I busy myself as a stranger upon earth, and can pretend to no other than being a looker-on, you are conspicuous in the busy and polite world, both in the world of men, and that of letters. While I am silent and unobserved in public meetings, you are admired by all that approach you as the life and genius of the conversation. What an happy conjunction of different talents meets in him whose whole discourse is at once animated by the strength and force of reason, and adorned with all the graces and embellishments of wit ! When learning irradiates common life, it is then in its highest use and perfection ; and it is to such as your Lordship, that the sciences owe the esteem which they have with the active part of mankind. Knowledge of books in recluse men, is like that sort of lantern which hides him who carries it, and serves only to pass through secret and gloomy paths of his own ; but, in the possession of a man of business, it is as a torch in the hand of one who is willing and able to shew those who were bewildered, the way which leads to their prosperity and welfare. A generous concern for your country, and a passion for every thing which is truly great and noble,

* This Letter was originally prefixed to the second volume of " The Spectator."

are what actuate all your life and actions ; and I hope you will forgive me that I have an ambition this book may be placed in the library of so good a judge of what is valuable, in that library where the choice is such, that it will not be a disparagement to be the meanest author in it. Forgive me, my Lord, for taking this occasion of telling all the world how ardently I love and honour you ; and that I am, with the utmost gratitude for all your favours, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant, THE SPECTATOR.

L E T T E R CCCCII.

To Mr. POPE.

DEAR SIR,

Jan. 20, 1711-12.

I HAVE received your very kind letter. That part of it which is grounded upon your belief that I have much affection and friendship for you, I receive with great pleasure. That which acknowledges the honour done to your "Essay*" I have no pretence to ; it was written by one whom I will make you acquainted with, which is the best return I can make to you for your favour to, Sir, your most obliged humble servant, RICH. STEELE,

* This relates to the Spectator, N^o CCLIII. which was written by Addison, and pays a handsome compliment to Pope's "Essay on Criticism."

L E T T E R

LETTER CCCCH.

To Mr. POPE.

SIR,

June 1, 1712.*

I AM at a solitude*, an house between Hampstead and London, wherein Sir Charles Sedley died†. This circumstance set me a thinking and ruminating upon the employments in which men of wit exercise themselves. It was said of Sir Charles, who breathed his last in this room,

“ Sedley has that prevailing gentle art,
 “ Which can with a resistless charm impart
 “ The loofest wishes to the chastest heart;
 “ Raise such a conflict, kindle such a fire
 “ Between declining virtue and desire,
 “ Till the poor vanquish'd maid dissolves away,
 “ In dreams all night, in sighs and tears all day.”

This was an happy talent to a man of the town; but, I dare say, without presuming to make uncharitable conjectures on the author's present condition, he would rather have had it said of him that he prayed,

“ Oh thou my voice inspire,
 “ Who touch'd Isaiah's hallow'd lips with fire!”

I have turned to every verse and chapter, and think you have preserved the sublime heavenly

* It is to be feared there were too many pecuniary reasons for this temporary solitude.

† About eight or nine years before the date of this letter.

spirit throughout the whole, especially at—
 “Hark a glad voice”—and—“The lamb with
 “wolves shall graze.”—There is but one line
 which I think below the original :

“He wipes the tears for ever from our eyes.”

You have expressed it with a good and pious,
 but not so exalted and poetical a spirit as the
 prophet, “The Lord God will wipe away tears
 “from off all faces.” If you agree with me in
 this, alter it by way of paraphrase or otherwise,
 that, when it comes into a volume, it may be
 amended. Your poem is already better than
 the Pollio. I am your, &c. RICH. STEELE.

LETTER CCCCIV.

From Mr. POPE.

June 18, 1712.

YOU have obliged me with a very kind
 letter, by which I find you shift the scene
 of your life from the town to the country, and
 enjoy that mixed state which wise men both de-
 light in and are qualified for. Methinks the
 moralists and philosophers have generally run
 too much into extremes, in commending entirely
 either solitude, or public life. In the former,
 men for the most part grow useless by too much
 rest; and in the latter, are destroyed by too
 much

much precipitation; as waters, lying still, putrify, and are good for nothing, and running violently on do but the more mischief in their passage to others, and are swallowed up and lost the sooner themselves. Those indeed, who can be useful to all states, should be like gentle streams, that not only glide through lonely valleys and forests amidst the flocks and the shepherds, but visit populous towns in their course, and are at once of ornament and service to them. But there are another sort of people who seem designed for solitude; such, I mean, as have more to hide than to shew. As for my own part, I am one of those of whom Seneca says, "*tam umbratiles sunt, ut putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est.*" Some men, like some pictures, are fitter for a corner than a full light; and, I believe, such as have a natural bent to solitude (to carry on the former similitude) are like waters, which may be forced into fountains, and, exalted into a great height, may make a noble figure, and a louder noise; but, after all, they would run more smoothly, quietly, and plentifully, in their own natural course upon the ground*. The consideration of this would

* The foregoing similitudes Mr. Pope had put into verse some years before, and inserted into Mr. Wycherley's poem on "Mixed Life." We find them in the versification very distinct from the rest of that poem. See his *Posthumous Works*, 8vo. pp. 3 and 4.

make me very well contented with the possession only of that quiet which Cowley calls the companion of obscurity. But whoever has the Muses too for his companions, can never be idle enough to be uneasy. Thus, Sir, you see I would flatter myself into a good opinion of my own way of living. Plutarch just now told me, that it is in human life as in a game at tables, where a man may wish for the highest cast, but, if his chance be otherwise, he is e'en to play it as well as he can, and to make the best of it. I am your, &c.

A. POPE,

LETTER CCCC.V.

From Mr. POPE.

July 15, 1712.

YOU formerly observed to me, that nothing made a more ridiculous figure in a man's life, than the disparity we often find in him sick and well: thus one of an unfortunate constitution is perpetually exhibiting a miserable example of the weakness of his mind, and of his body, in their turns. I have had frequent opportunities of late to consider myself in these different views, and, I hope, have received some advantage by it, if what Waller says be true, that

“ The soul's dark cottage, batter'd and decay'd,
 “ Lets in new light thro' chinks that time has made.”

Then

Then surely sickness, contributing no less than old age to the shaking down this scaffolding of the body, may discover the inward structure more plainly. Sickness is a sort of early old age: it teaches us a diffidence in our earthly state, and inspires us with the thoughts of a future, better than a thousand volumes of philosophers and divines. It gives so warning a concussion to those props of our vanity, our strength and youth, that we think of fortifying ourselves within, when there is so little dependance upon our outworks. Youth, at the very best, is but a betrayer of human life in a gentler and smoother manner than age: it is like a stream that nourishes a plant upon a bank, and causes it to flourish and blossom to the sight, but at the same time is undermining it at the root in secret. My youth has dealt more fairly and openly with me: it has afforded several prospects of my danger, and given me an advantage not very common to young men, that the attractions of the world have not dazzled me very much; and I begin, where most people end, with a full conviction of the emptiness of all sorts of ambition, and the unsatisfactory nature of all human pleasures. When a smart fit of sickness tells me this scurvy tenement of my body will fall in a little time, I am e'en as unconcerned as was that honest Hibernian, who, being in bed in the great storm some years ago, and told the
house

house would tumble over his head, made answer, "What care I for the house, I am only a lodger!" I fancy it is the best time to die when one is in the best humour; and so excessive weak as I now am, I may say with conscience, that I am not at all uneasy at the thought that many men, whom I never had any esteem for, are likely to enjoy this world after me. When I reflect what an inconsiderable little atom every single man is, with respect to the whole creation, methinks it is a shame to be concerned at the removal of such a trivial animal as I am. The morning after my exit the sun will rise as bright as ever, the flowers smell as sweet, the plants spring as green, the world will proceed in its old course, people will laugh as heartily, and marry as fast, as they were used to do. "The memory of man," as it is elegantly expressed in the Book of Wisdom, "passeth away as the remembrance of a guest that tarrieth but one day." There are reasons enough, in the fourth chapter of the same book, to make any young man contented with the prospect of death. "For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, or is measured by number of years. But wisdom is the grey hair to men, and an unspotted life is old age. He was taken away speedily, lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul," &c. I am your, &c. A. POPE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCVI.

To Mr. LINTOTT.

Mr. LINTOTT,

Aug. 4, 1712.

MR. ADDISON desired me to tell you, that he wholly disapproves the manner of treating Mr. Dennis in a little pamphlet by way of Dr. Norris's account *. When he thinks fit to take notice of Mr. Dennis's objections to his writings †, he will do it in a way Mr. Dennis shall have no just reason to complain of. But when the papers abovementioned were offered to be communicated to him, he said he could not, either in honour or conscience, be privy to such a treatment, and was sorry to hear of it. I am, Sir, your very humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCVII.

From Mr. POPE.

Nov. 7, 1712.

I WAS the other day in company with five or six men of some learning; where chancing to mention the famous verses which the Em-

* Of the frenzy of Mr. John Dennis; a narrative written by Mr. Pope. See his letter to Mr. Addison of July 20, 1713.

† Remarks upon Cato.

peror

peror Adrian spoke on his death-bed, they were all agreed that it was a piece of gaiety unworthy of that prince in those circumstances. I could not but differ from this opinion: methinks it was by no means a gay, but a very serious soliloquy to his soul at the point of its departure; in which sense I naturally took the verses at my first reading them, when I was very young, and before I knew what interpretation the world generally put upon them.

“ Animula vagula, blandula,

“ Hospes comesque corporis,

“ Quæ nunc abibis in loca?

“ Pallidula, rigida, nudula,

“ Nec (ut soles) dabis joca?”

“ Alas, my soul! thou pleasing companion of
 “ this body, thou fleeting thing that art now
 “ deserting it! whither art thou flying? to
 “ what unknown scene? all trembling, fearful,
 “ and penfive! what now is become of thy former wit and humour? thou shalt jest and be
 “ gay no more.”

I confess, I cannot apprehend where lies the trifling in all this: it is the most natural and obvious reflection imaginable to a dying man: and if we consider the Emperor was a heathen, that doubt concerning the future fate of his soul will seem so far from being the effect of want of thought, that it was scarce reasonable he should
 think

think otherwise; not to mention that here is a plain confession included of his belief in its immortality. The diminutive epithets of *vagula*, *blandula*, and the rest, appear not to me as expressions of levity, but rather of endearment and concern; such as we find in Catullus, and the authors of *Hendeca-syllabi* after him, where they are used to express the utmost love and tenderness for their mistresses. If you think me right in my notion of the last words of Adrian, be pleased to insert it in the *Spectator* *; if not, to suppress it. I am, &c. A. POPE.

ADRIANI morientis ad ANTMAM. Translated.

Ah, fleeting spirit! wandering fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender breast,
Must thou no more this frame inspire?
No more a pleasing, chearful guest?
Whither, ah whither art thou flying!
To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And wit and humour are no more!

LETTER CCCCVIII.

To Mr. POPE.

Nov. 12, 1712.

I HAVE read over your "Temple of Fame" twice, and cannot find any thing amiss, of weight enough to call a fault, but see in it a

* See *Spectator*, N^o DXXXII. Nov. 10, 1712.

thousand thousand beauties. Mr. Addison shall see it to-morrow : after his perusal of it, I will let you know his thoughts. I desire you would let me know whether you are at leisure or not ? I have a design*, which I shall open a month or two hence, with the assistance of the few like yourself. If your thoughts are unengaged, I shall explain myself further. I am your, &c.

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCIX.

From Mr. POPE.

Nov. 16, 1712.

YOU oblige me by the indulgence you have shewn to the poem I sent you, but will oblige me much more by the kind severity I hope for from you. No errors are so trivial but they deserve to be mended. But since you say you see nothing that may be called a fault, can you but think it so, that I have confined the attendance of † guardian spirits to Heaven's favourites only ? I could point you to several, but it is my business to be informed of those faults I do not know ; and as for those I do, not to talk of them, but to correct them. You speak of that poem in a style I neither merit, nor ex-

* This was " The Guardian," in which Pope assisted.

† This is not now to be found in the " Temple of Fame," which is the poem here spoken of.

pect ;

pect; but, I assure you, if you freely mark or dash out, I shall look upon your blots to be its greatest beauties: I mean, if Mr. Addison and yourself should like it in the whole; otherwise the trouble of correction is what I would not take, for I was really so diffident of it as to let it lie by me these * two years, just as you now see it. I am afraid of nothing so much as to impose any thing on the world which is unworthy of its acceptance.

As to the last period of your letter, I shall be very ready and glad to contribute to any design that tends to the advantage of mankind, which, I am sure, all yours do †. I wish I had but as much

* Hence it appears this poem was written before the author was twenty-two years old.

† In a subsequent letter to Mr. Addison, Pope says, "As I hope, and would flatter myself, that you know me and my thoughts so entirely as never to be mistaken in either, so it is a pleasure to me that you have guessed so right in regard to the author of that *GUARDIAN* you mentioned. But I am sorry to find it has taken air that I have some hand in those papers, because I writ so very few, as neither to deserve the credit of such a report with some people, nor the disrepute of it with others. An honest Jacobite spoke to me the sense or nonsense of the weak part of his party very fairly, that the good people took it ill of me that I writ with *STEELE*, though upon never so indifferent subjects. This, I know, you will laugh at as well as I do; yet I doubt not but many little calumniators, and persons of sour dispositions, will take occasion hence to bespatter me. I confess, I scorn narrow souls of all parties, and, if I renounce my reason in religious matters, I will hardly do it in any other. I cannot imagine whence it comes to pass that the few *Guardians* I have written are so generally known for mine: that in particular which you mention I never discovered to any man

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much capacity as leisure, for I am perfectly idle (a sign I have not much capacity).

If you will entertain the best opinion of me, be pleased to think me your friend. Assure Mr. Addison of my most faithful service; of every one's esteem he must be assured already. I am your, &c. A. POPE.

LETTER CCCCX.

From Mr. POPE.

Nov. 29, 1712.

I AM sorry you published that notion about Adrian's verses * as mine: had I imagined

"but the publisher, till very lately: yet almost every body told me of it. As to his taking a more politic turn, I cannot any way enter into that secret, nor have I been let into it any more than into the rest of his politics. Though it is said, he will take into these papers also several subjects of the politer kind, as before: but, I assure you, as to myself, I have quite done with them for the future. The little I have done, and the great respect I bear Mr. Steele as a man of wit, has rendered me a suspected Whig to some of the violent; but (as old Dryden said before me) it is not the violent I design to please."

* In the Spectator above referred to, p. 337, Steele says, "I claim to myself the merit of having extorted excellent productions from a person of the greatest abilities, who would not have let them appeared by any other means; to have animated a few young gentlemen into worthy pursuits, who will be a glory to our age; and at all times, and by all possible means in my power, undermined the interests of ignorance, vice, and folly, and attempted to substitute in their stead learning, piety, and good sense. It is from this honest heart, that I find myself honoured as a gentleman-usher to the Arts and Sciences. Mr. Tickell and Mr. Pope have, it seems, this idea of me. The former has written me an excellent paper of verses in praise, forsooth, of myself; and the other inclosed for my perusal an admirable poem, which, I hope, will shortly see the light."

you

you would use my name, I should have expressed my sentiments with more modesty and diffidence. I only sent it to have your opinion, and not to publish my own, which I distrusted. But I think the supposition you draw from the notion of Adrian's being addicted to magic, is a little uncharitable ("that he might fear no sort of deity, good or bad"), since, in the third verse, he plainly testifies his apprehension of a future state, by being solicitous whither his soul was going. As to what you mention of his using gay and ludicrous expressions, I have owned my opinion to be, that the expressions are not so, but that diminutives are as often, in the Latin tongue, used as marks of tenderness and concern.

Anima is no more than "my soul," *animula* has the force of "my dear soul." To say *virga bella* is not half so endearing as *virguncula bellula*; and had Augustus only called Horace *lepidum hominem*, it had amounted to no more than that he thought him a "pleasant fellow:" it was the *homunculum* that expressed the love and tenderness that great Emperor had for him. And perhaps I should myself be much better pleased, if I were told you called me "your little friend," than if you complimented me with the title of "a great genius," or "an eminent hand," as Jacob * does all his authors. I am your, &c.

A. POPE:

* Jacob Tonson.

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LETTER

LETTER CCCCXI.

To Mr. POPE.

Dec. 4, 1712.

THIS is to desire of you that you would please to make an ode as of a chearful dying spirit; that is to say, the Emperor Adrian's "*animula vagula*," put into two or three stanzas for music. If you comply with this, and send me word so, you will very particularly oblige your, &c.

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXII.

From Mr. POPE.

Dec. 1712.

I DO not send you word I will do, but have already done the thing you desire of me. You have it (as Cowley calls it) just warm from the brain. It came to me the first moment I waked this morning: yet, you will see, it was not so absolutely inspiration*, but that I had in my head not only the verses of Adrian, but the fine fragment of Sappho, &c.

The DYING CHRISTIAN to his SOUL. ODE,

Vital spark of heavenly flame!

Quit, oh quit this mortal frame:

Trembling, hoping, lingering, flying,

Oh the pain, the bliss of dying!

Cease, fond Nature, cease thy strife,

And let me languish into life.

* It has been suggested, that some part of what is here ascribed to inspiration, and said to have come warm from Pope's heart, dropt originally from the pen of Flatman.

Hark!

Hark ! they whisper ; Angels say,
 Sister Spirit, come away !
 What is this absorbs me quite,
 Steals my senses, shuts my sight,
 Drowns my spirits, draws my breath ?
 Tell me, my soul, can this be Death ?
 The world recedes ; it disappears !
 Heaven opens on my eyes ! my ears
 With sounds seraphic ring !
 Lend, lend your wings ! I mount ! I fly !
 O Grave ! where is thy victory ?
 O Death ! where is thy sting ?

L E T T E R CCCCXIII*.

TO HENRY BOYLE †, Esq.

SIR,

[1712].

AS the professed design of this work is to entertain its readers in general, without giving offence to any particular person, it would be difficult to find out so proper a patron for it

* Prefixed to the third volume of "The Spectator."

† Youngest son of Charles Lord Clifford. He was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer to King William in March 1701; was much esteemed by that prince; and continued in that post till Feb. 12, 1707-8, when he was made one of the principal Secretaries of State, in which station he remained till Sept. 20, 1710. On the accession of George I. Mr. Boyle was created Lord Carleton, and soon after made President of the Council. He died unmarried, March 14, 1724-5. To the kindness of Mr. Boyle, and the friendship of Lord Halifax, Mr. Addison was indebted for his first introduction to Lord Godolphin. See Budgell, p. 153.

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as yourself, there being none whose merit is more universally acknowledged by all parties, and who has made himself more friends, and fewer enemies. Your great abilities, and unquestioned integrity, in those high employments which you have passed through, would not have been able to have raised you this general approbation, had they not been accompanied with that moderation in an high fortune, and that affability of manners, which are so conspicuous through all parts of your life. Your aversion to any ostentatious arts of setting to show those great services which you have done the publick, has not likewise a little contributed to that universal acknowledgement which is paid you by your country.

The consideration of this part of your character, is that which hinders me from enlarging on those extraordinary talents, which have given you so great a figure in the British senate, as well as in that elegance and politeness which appear in your more retired conversation. I should be unpardonable if, after what I have said, I should longer detain you with an address of this nature: I cannot, however, conclude it without acknowledging those great obligations which you have laid upon, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

THE SPECTATOR.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXIV*.

To the Duke of MARLBOROUGH †.

MY LORD,

[1712.]

AS it is natural to have a fondness for what has cost us much time and attention to produce,

* Prefixed to the fourth volume of "The Spectator." See a former letter to the Duke, p. 322.

† John Churchill, eldest son of Sir Winstan Churchill, of Wooten-Basset, in the county of Wilts, was born June 24, 1650. The Duke of York obtained for him an ensigncy in the guards so early as 1666; and a company of grenadiers, under the Duke of Monmouth, in 1672, at the siege of Maestricht. On his return, he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and master of the robes to the Duke of York. Attending the Duke into Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons; and was created Baron of Aymouth in that kingdom, Dec. 1, 1682. King James, on his accession, appointed him gentleman of the bedchamber, captain of a troop of his life-guard; and created him Baron Churchill of Sandridge, May 14, 1685. At the Revolution, he was continued gentleman of the bed-chamber; sworn of the privy council, Feb. 6, 1688-9; created Earl of Marlborough, April 9, 1689; the same year was commander of the English forces in Flanders, and in 1690 had the same employment in Ireland. He was, notwithstanding, dismissed from the King's service, and even committed to the Tower on suspicion of a plot. On the death of Queen Mary, he was recalled to the privy council; and appointed, June 19, 1698, governor to the Duke of Gloucester, with this extraordinary compliment from the King, "My Lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him." He was three times one of the lords justices in the King's absence; and, in 1701, commander in chief of the English forces in Holland, and ambassador extraordinary to the States General. King William having warmly recommended him to the Princess Anne, he was, about a week after her Majesty's accession, elected Knight of the Garter; and, soon after, appointed

produce, I hope your Grace will forgive my endeavour to preserve this work from oblivion, by affixing to it your memorable name.

I shall not here presume to mention the illustrious passages of your life, which are celebrated by the whole age, and have been the subject of the most sublime pens; but if I could convey you to posterity in your private character, and describe the stature, the behaviour, and aspect, of the Duke of Marlborough, I question not but it would fill the reader with more agreeable images, and give him a more delightful entertainment than what can be found in the following, or any other book.

One cannot indeed without offence to yourself observe, that you excel the rest of man-

appointed captain-general of all the forces, and ambassador to The States. In 1702, he commanded the army in Flanders; and, at his return, was created, Dec. 22, Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough. In 1704, in consequence of the memorable victory at Hocksted, he was appointed a Prince of the Empire; and had Mildenheim assigned for his principality, Nov. 12, 1705. On the 19th of January, 1710-11, finding the Queen's prepossession against his Ducheſs could not be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to her Majesty; and was himself dismissed, Dec. 30, 1711. Upon the Earl of Godolphin's death, resolving to quit this kingdom, he embarked at Dover, Nov. 14, 1712; and the Ducheſs followed him in February. On the accession of King George I. he returned to London, Aug. 4, 1714; and was again, Sept. 24, appointed captain-general of the land forces, master-general of the ordnance, and colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards. He died at Windsor Lodge, June 16, 1722, in the 72d year of his age, and was buried with great solemnity in Westminster-abbey.

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kind in the least, as well as the greatest endowments. Nor were it a circumstance to be mentioned, if the graces and attractions of your person were not the only pre-eminence you have above others, which is left, almost, unobserved by greater writers.

Yet how pleasing would it be to those who shall read the surprising revolutions in your story, to be made acquainted with your ordinary life and deportment ! How pleasing would it be to hear that the same man, who had carried fire and sword into the countries of all that had opposed the cause of liberty, and struck a terror into the armies of France, had, in the midst of his high station, a behaviour as gentle as is usual in the first steps towards greatness ! And if it were possible to express that easy grandeur, which did at once persuade and command ; it would appear as clearly to those to come, as it does to his contemporaries, that all the great events which were brought to pass under the conduct of so well-governed a spirit, were the blessings of Heaven upon wisdom and valour ; and all which seem adverse fell out by divine permission, which we are not to search into.

You have passed that year of life wherein the most able and fortunate Captain, before your time, declared he had lived enough both to nature and to glory ; and your Grace may make that reflection with much more justice. He spoke
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it after he had arrived at empire by an usurpation upon those whom he had enslaved; but the Prince of Mildenheim may rejoice in a sovereignty which was the gift of him whose dominions he had preserved.

Glory established upon the uninterrupted success of honourable designs, and actions, is not subject to diminution; nor can any attempts prevail against it, but in the proportion which the narrow circuit of rumour bears to the unlimited extent of fame.

We may congratulate your Grace not only upon your high achievements, but likewise upon the happy expiration of your command, by which your glory is put out of the power of Fortune: and when your person shall be so too, that the Author and Disposer of all things may place you in that higher mansion of bliss and immortality which is prepared for good princes, law-givers, and heroes, when HE IN HIS due time removes them from the envy of mankind, is the hearty prayer of, my Lord, your Grace's most obedient, most devoted, humble servant,

THE SPECTATOR.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXV.

To Sir Miles Wharton.

SIR, Fleet-street, March 5, 1712-13.

I HAVE not the happiness to be in the least known to you, but have, with all England, obligations to you for the greatness of mind which you exerted in refusing, not long ago *, to be made a peer of this realm in an hasty and surreptitious manner: it was not so much as pretended that the dozen of nobles were then introduced for any other purpose, but to gain a question of the highest importance, no less than a question of peace and war. Were the point obtained by it never so much conducive to our good, the novelty, if not obviated for the future, cannot but tend to the apparent danger of the Queen and all her subjects. It is from a report that there are another half dozen to be made within few days, that I am engaged to give you this trouble.

You, Sir, who are adorned with more than title, a superiority to it, from the refusal of it when you thought it inconsistent with honour, are the properest man to be addressed, when I consider the danger of making occasional Lords, and lay before the world this fatal novelty, as it affects the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, the

* In January 1711-12.

House of Peers, and the whole People of England.

Honour is the conscience of doing just and laudable actions, independent of the success of those actions. God is the fountain of this honour, and animates and supports all who are actuated by it; he is an inexhaustible fountain, and cannot be impaired by his creations. But if it be not prophane to mention, so near after his Omnipotence, any distinctions we give one another here, I would proceed to say, that it is not so with sovereigns upon earth, whom we phrase "fountains of honour." They, alas! are themselves diminished in proportion to what they grant out of themselves. An unguarded and lavish hand, in grants of this kind, would very soon make the honour, flowing from a prince, of no value and consideration to those on whom it is bestowed, and take away any power of giving more from the giver. To come immediately to the point; I assert, that the numerous creation of Peers is the greatest wound that can be given to the prerogative. A Peer and his heirs are checks in the legislature to the Queen and her heirs; that part of the legislature which is in the Queen, is apparently diminished by so much as she gives out of it, from her own into other families. This is equally destructive with relation to the merit of the persons on whom honour is conferred; if they hap-
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pen to be men who are barely unblameable, without talents or high qualifications, they do but croud that illustrious assembly, and, like all other crowds, they are serviceable and hurtful but just as they are inspired by those who have skill to lead them. Thus the Crown is no way sure of their concurrence any farther than by promise of their first vote; and they may ever after turn patriots on the side of the people, to the constant interruption of affairs; for it generally happens, that those who are conscious of an inability to promote business, give themselves a figure, and fancy they are considerable, from the power of retarding it. Thus much as to what regards the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

As to the House of Peers, it is visible to any thing above a natural fool, that the power of each Lord is so much less considerable as it is repeated in other persons: but the great hardship to that great and awful body, whose privileges have so often been a safety and protection to the rights of us below them, I say, the great hardship to these noble patriots is, that when they are prepared with the most strict honour and integrity to do their duty in relation to their prince and country, all their determinations may be avoided by a sett of people brought in the moment before they come to a question. This has been done once, as I am credibly informed,

formed, in so frank a way, that there have been above six at a time brought into that place, without any farther preamble than, "this gentleman's name is so; do not call him Mr. " from this time forward, but my Lord, for he " is now one of you: sit close there, let the " gentleman sit down; I beg pardon, make way " for his Lordship."

Now when we come to consider the introduction of occasional Lords with regard to the people; what can be more plain, than that it is doing all that is necessary to take from them both liberty and property at once. If there were nothing in being a Lord, but the advantage of being received with more distinction and ceremony, let it be given to any who are delighted with it; they may be well pleased, and we not hurt. But the case is much otherwise; for from the very moment a man has a patent, and is introduced into the House of Peers (though he was the day before notoriously ignorant in our laws), men appeal to him from the decree of all the Judges. Besides this, the Lords are perpetual legislators, and have a hand in the repealing as well as making laws; by which means the whole constitution may be subverted by this one innovation. And it is plain, that the Prince who should place so entire a confidence in his ministry, as to give peerage upon their recommendation, would enable

enable them by that power in the legislature, joined to the execution of the regal authority as ministers, to give that prince and nation to the next potentate who should be powerful enough to receive and maintain so vast a present.

However well disposed men's minds may be, there are some things which are not to be committed to their wills.

The whole constitution is in danger, if this matter is not prevented by some future law; and I think I have in my head a sufficient expedient, that can no way impair the prerogative of the Crown, the power of the Peers, or the liberty of the people; and that is, that a bill be brought in, to disable any peer to vote in any case, till three years after the date of his patent.

You see, noble Sir, that, without giving the matter the least aggravation, I have shewn, that if this avenue to the House of Lords is not shut, that House must be blown up by it as effectually as it might have been by the combustible matter laid under it an age ago by Guido Faux.

He that brings the torch into the room to fire it in the midst of the company, differs from him who undermines it only in point of modesty.

It is amazing that such care should be taken to prohibit an occasional Conformist from being a constable, and nobody takes it in his head to prevent an occasional Lord from being a judge, nay, a legislator. I am very willing that a good and honourable peace may expiate this step,

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which was made in the eye of the world without the least deference to a good and gracious Sovereign, to an illustrious Nobility, to a learned and knowing Gentry, to a great and valiant People: I say, let even this step be forgiven for a good peace; but let not that peace receive its sanction from the repetition of it. If men cannot carry on the business of the nation without such helps, they may as well in plain terms tell us they cannot maintain the constitution, but they will alter it to one which they can. But how is this received with so much indifference? Why, men qualified for power direct mankind by consulting their interest, and managing their affections; but pretenders to administration indulge the passions of the multitude at the expence of their real interest and advantage. It is by this latter method all the anarchical proceedings, which have of late distracted this unhappy nation, have been tolerated. When the minds of men are prejudiced, wonderful effects may be wrought against common-sense. One weak step, in trying a fool for what he said in a pulpit, with all the pomp that could be used to take down a more dangerous and powerful man than ever England yet has seen, cost the most able Ministry that ever any Prince was honoured with, its being. The judgement of the House of Lords was by this means insulted and evaded, and the anarchical fury ran so high, that Harry Sacheverell swelling, and Jack Huggins laughing, marched

marched through England in a triumph more than military. Many extraordinary things which have happened since, have been brought about upon a maxim no deeper than *pax bello potior*, "peace is better than war." A great many lies, grafted upon this unquestionable truth, could not but produce wonders among all who pay taxes. But arithmetick is so common an art, that the very common people, now their passions are fallen, see their case in one sheet of paper, called, "A View of the Taxes, Funds, and public Revenues of England. Printed for Tim. Child, at the White Hart, at the West end of St. Paul's*."

As for myself, what I have here suggested is from a very honest heart, and I have an armour in my integrity against all gainfayers. My comfort is, that the laws of England are still in force; and, though what I have said may be unacceptable, I am sure it is not illegal. While the laws are in being I am safe, and no man can be safe who outlives them. May I, whenever they expire, die with them!

I wish you the long possession of the honour in which your generous behaviour has placed you in the minds of all true Englishmen; and am, with great respect, your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS HICKS †.

* In a paper called "The Protefter," by Mr. Ralph, published in 1753, N^o 5, this piece is quoted as the production of Mr. Walpole.

† Acknowledged by Steele as his own in 1715.

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LETTER

LETTER CCCCXVI*.

To the Earl of WHARTON †.

MY LORD,

[1712-13].

THE author of the Spectator, having prefixed before each of his volumes the name of some great person to whom he has particular obligations, lays his claim to your Lordship's

* Prefixed to the fifth volume of "The Spectator."

† Thomas Wharton was appointed by King William Comptroller of the Household, Justice in Eyre South of Trent, and Lord-lieutenant of Oxfordshire; created Viscount Winchendon and Earl of Wharton, Dec. 23, 1706; appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Nov. 25, 1708 (when Mr. Addison became his Secretary); Lord Privy-seal, Sept. 24, 1714; and, Dec. 24, Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury, in England; and Earl of Rathfarnham and Marquis of Catherlough, in Ireland. He died April 12, 1715, in the 76th year of his age. He was succeeded by his son Philip, whom King George I. in 1718, created Duke of Wharton, purely in consideration of the merits of his noble father, as appears from the patent of his creation, which mentions "King William's obligations to Lord Wharton for his constant and vigorous defence of the public liberty, and the Protestant religion;" and states, "how vigorously he supported the interest of King George, by the weight of his counsels, the force of his wit, and the firmness of his mind, when his said Majesty's title to the succession to this realm was in danger." An eminent historian says, "he had as many friends as the constitution, and that only *its* enemies were *his*; that he made no merit of his zeal for his country; and that he expended above 80,000*l.* for its service in elections," &c. There is in the British Museum a transcript, by Dr. Birch, of a most curious letter of Lord Wharton to King William, copied, it is said, from an original, communicated to that indefatigable transcriber by Mr. Asple, which we do not recollect to have seen in print, though it well deserves publication. See MSS. Birch. 4107.

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patronage upon the same account. I must confess, my Lord, had not I already received great instances of your favour, I should have been afraid of submitting a work of this nature to your perusal. You are so thoroughly acquainted with the characters of men, and all the parts of human life, that it is impossible for the least misrepresentation of them to escape your notice. It is your Lordship's particular distinction that you are master of the whole compass of business, and have signalized yourself in all the different scenes of it. We admire some for the dignity, others for the popularity of their behaviour; some for their clearness of judgement, others for their happiness of expression; some for the laying of schemes, and others for the putting of them in execution. It is your Lordship only who enjoys these several talents united, and that too in as great perfection as others possess them singly. Your enemies acknowledge this great extent in your Lordship's character, at the same time that they use their utmost industry and invention to derogate from it. But it is for your honour that those who are now your enemies were always so. You have acted in so much consistency with yourself, and promoted the interests of your country in so uniform a manner, that even those who would misrepresent your generous designs for the public good, cannot but approve the steadiness and intrepidity with

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which you pursue them. It is a most sensible pleasure to me that I have this opportunity of professing myself one of your great admirers, and, in a very particular manner, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, and most obedient, humble servant,

THE SPECTATOR.

LETTER CCCCXVII*.

To the Earl of SUNDERLAND †.

MY LORD,

[1712-13.]

VERY many favours and civilities (received from you in a private capacity) which I have no other way to acknowledge, will, I hope, excuse this presumption; but the justice I, as a SPECTATOR, owe your character, places me above the want of an excuse. Candour and openness of heart, which shine in all your words and actions, exact the highest esteem from all who have the honour to know you; and a winning condescension to all subordinate to you, made business a pleasure to those who executed

* Prefixed to the sixth volume of "The Spectator."

† Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, who succeeded to that title, Sept. 21, 1702, on the death of his father Robert. He was made Secretary of State, Dec. 5, 1706; and dismissed, June 14, 1710. Sept. 1, 1715, he had a pension of 1200*l. per annum* settled on him. April 16, 1717, was again appointed Secretary of State; March 16, 1717-18, Lord President of the Council; Feb. 6, 1718-19, Groom of the Stole; and died April 19, 1722. He married Lady Anne Churchill, second daughter of John Duke of Marlborough; to whose titles her eldest surviving son, Charles, succeeded in 1733.

it under you, at the same time that it heightened her Majesty's favour to all who had the happiness of having it conveyed through your hands. A Secretary of State, in the interest of mankind, joined with that of his fellow-subjects, accomplished with a great facility and elegance in all the modern as well as antient languages, was a happy and proper member of a Ministry, by whose services your Sovereign is in so high and flourishing a condition, as makes all other Princes and Potentates powerful or inconsiderable in Europe, as they are friends or enemies to Great-Britain. The importance of those great events which happened during that Administration, in which your Lordship bore so important a charge, will be acknowledged as long as time shall endure. I shall not, therefore, attempt to rehearse those illustrious passages; but give this application a more private and particular turn, in desiring your Lordship would continue your favour and patronage to me, as you are a gentleman of the most polite literature, and perfectly accomplished in the knowledge of books * and men, which makes it necessary to beseech your indulgence to the following leaves, and the Author of them: who is, with the greatest truth and respect, my Lord, your Lordship's obliged, obedient, and humble servant,

THE SPECTATOR.

* His Lordship was the founder of the splendid and truly valuable library at Althorp.

LETTER CCCCXVIII.

Dr. SWIFT to Mr. ADDISON.

SIR,

May 13, 1713.

I WAS told yesterday, by several persons, that Mr. Steele had reflected upon me in his Guardian; which I could hardly believe, until, sending for the paper of the day, I found he had, in several parts of it, insinuated with the utmost malice, that I was Author of the EXAMINER*; and abused me in the grossest manner he could possibly invent, and set his name to what he had written. Now, Sir, if I am not Author of the Examiner, how will Mr. Steele be able to defend himself from the imputation of the highest degree of baseness, ingratitude; and injustice? is he so ignorant of my temper, and of my style? has he never heard that the Author of the Examiner (to whom I am altoge-

* In the Guardian, N^o LIII. Mr. Steele says, "Though sometimes I have been told by familiar friends, that they saw me such a time *talking to the Examiner*; others, who have *raillied* me for the sins of my youth, tell me, it is credibly reported that I have *formerly lain with the Examiner*—I have carried my point; and it is nothing to me whether the Examiner writes in the character of an *estranged friend*, or an *exasperated mistress*."—By the first of these appellations, Dr. Swift is to be understood; by the latter, Mrs. Manley, authoress of the Atalantis, who likewise, in conjunction with Oldisworth, wrote in the Examiner, often under the direction, and with the assistance, of Swift, but oftener without leading-strings.

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ther a stranger*) did, a month or two ago, vindicate me from having any concern in it? Should not Mr. Steele have first expostulated with me as a friend? have I deserved this usage from Mr. Steele, who knows very well that my Lord Treasurer † has kept him in his employment upon my intreaty and intercession ‡? My
 Lord

* The reader will please to recollect the received opinion, that Dr. Swift never wrote any *Examiners* after June 7, 1711. The curious may see an accurate and satisfactory account of the *Examiner*, and of this circumstance particularly, in the new edition of the *TATLER* with notes, vol. V. N^o 210, p. 307, *note*.

† Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

‡ "I sat till ten in the evening with Addison and Steele: Steele will certainly lose his *Gazetteer's* place, all the world detesting his engaging in parties." Swift, *Journal to Stella*, Sept. 10, 1710.

"I was this morning with Mr. Lewis, the under-secretary to Lord Dartmouth, two hours, talking politics, and contriving to keep Steele in his office of stamp paper: he has lost his place of *Gazetteer*, three hundred pounds a year, for writing a *Tatler*, some months ago, against Mr. Harley, who gave it him at first, and raised the salary from sixty to three hundred pounds. This was devilish ungrateful; and Lewis was telling me the particulars: but I had a hint given me, that I might save him in the other employment; and leave was given me to clear matters with Steele. Well, I dined with Sir Matthew Dudley, and in the evening went to sit with Mr. Addison, and offer the matter at distance to him as the discreeter person; but found party had so possessed him, that he talked as if he suspected me, and would not fall in with any thing I said. So I stopt short in my overture, and we parted very dryly; and I shall say nothing to Steele, and let them do as they will; but if things stand as they are, he will certainly lose it, unless I save him; and therefore I will not speak to him, that I may not report to his disadvantage. Is not this vexatious? and is there so much in the proverb of
 "proffered

Lord Chancellor* and Lord Bolingbroke will be witnesses how I was reproached by my Lord Treasurer, upon the ill returns Mr. Steele made to his Lordship's indulgence, &c. JON. SWIFT.

L E T T E R CCCCX:X.

To Dr. SWIFT.

S I R,

May 19, 1713.

MR. ADDISON shewed me your letter, wherein you mention me. They laugh at you, if they make you believe your interpo-

"proffered service? When shall I grow wise? I endeavour to act in the most exact points of honour and conscience, and my nearest friends will not understand it so. What must a man expect from his enemies? This would vex me, but it shall not; and so I bid you good night, &c." Ibid. Oct. 22.

"Lewis told me a pure thing. I had been hankering with Mr. Harley to save Steele his other employment, and have a little mercy on him, and I had been saying the same thing to Lewis, who is Mr. Harley's chief favourite. Lewis tells Mr. Harley, how kindly I should take it, if he would be reconciled to Steele, &c. Mr. Harley, on my account, falls in with it, and appoints Steele a time to let him attend him; which Steele accepts with great submission, but never comes, nor sends any excuse. Whether it was blundering, fullness, insolence, or rancour of party, I cannot tell; but I shall trouble myself no more about him. I believe Addison hindered him out of meer spite, being grated to the soul to think he should ever want my help to save his friend; yet now he is soliciting me to make another of his friends Queen's Secretary at Geneva; and I will do it if I can; it is poor Pastoral Philips." Ibid. Dec. 16.

One story is good till another is heard. See a very different account of the whole transaction pointed out in a note on the new edition of the TATLER, *ut supra*, vol. VI. No 228, p. 95, *et seq.*

* Lord Harcourt.

fiction

fiction has kept me thus long in my office. If you have spoken in my behalf at any time, I am glad I have always treated you with respect; though I believe you an accomplice of the *Examiner*. In the letter you are angry at, you see I have no reason for being so merciful to him, but out of regard to the imputation you lie under. You do not in direct terms say you are not concerned with him: but make it an argument of your innocence, that the *Examiner* has declared you have nothing to do with him. I believe I could prevail upon the *Guardian* to say there was a mistake in putting my name in his paper: but the English would laugh at us, should we argue in so Irish a manner. I am heartily glad of your being made Dean of St. Patrick's. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCXX.

From Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

.
 * I may probably know better, when they are

* "It has unluckily happened that two or three lines have been torn by accident from the beginning of this letter; and, by the same accident, two or three lines are missing towards the latter part, which were written on the back part of the paper which was torn off. But what remains of this letter will, I presume, be very satisfactory to the intelligent reader, upon many accounts." For this note, and for the letter itself, we are indebted to the late Deane Swift, esq.

disposed

disposed The case was thus : I did, with the utmost application, and desiring to lay all my credit upon it, desire Mr. Harley (as he then was called) to shew you mercy *. He said, " he would, and wholly upon my account : that he would appoint you a day to see him : that he would not expect you should quit any friend or principle." Some days after, he told me, " he had appointed you a day, and you had not kept it ;" upon which he reproached me, as engaging for more than I could answer ; and advised me to more caution another time. I told him, and desired my Lord Chancellor † and Lord Bolingbroke to be witnesses, that I would never speak for or against you as long as I lived ; only I would, and that it was still my opinion, you should have mercy till you gave further provocations. This is the history of what you think fit to call, in the spirit of insulting, " their laughing at me : " and you may do it securely ; for, by the most inhuman dealings, you have wholly put it out of my power, as a Christian, to do you the least ill office. Next I desire to know, whether the greatest services ever done by one man to another, may not have the same turn as properly applied to them ? And, once more, suppose they did laugh at me, I ask whether my inclinations to

* See above, pp. 360, 361.

† Lord Harcourt.
serve

serve you merit to be rewarded by the vilest treatment, whether they succeeded or no? If your interpretation were true, I was laughed at only for your sake; which, I think, is going pretty far to serve a friend. As to the letter I complain of, I appeal to your most partial friends, whether you ought not either to have asked, or written to me, or desired to have been informed by a third hand, whether I were any way concerned in writing the Examiner? And, if I had shuffled, or answered indirectly, or affirmed, or said, I would not give you satisfaction; you might then have wreaked your revenge with some colour of justice. I have several times assured Mr. Addison, and fifty others, “that I had not the least hand in writing any of those papers; and that I had never exchanged one syllable with the supposed Author* in my life, that I can remember, nor even seen him above twice, and that in mixed company, in a place where he came to pay his attendance.” One thing more I must observe to you, that, a year or two ago, when some printers used to bring me their papers in manuscript, I absolutely forbid them to give any hints against Mr. Addison and you, and some others; and have frequently struck out reflections upon you in

* It is clear that Swift all along alludes to Oldisworth as the Author of the Examiner. Steele, on the contrary, sets out on the supposition that those papers were still the production of Swift and Mrs. Manley.

particular,

particular, and should (I believe) have done it still, if I had not wholly left off troubling myself about those kind of things.

I protest, I never saw any thing more liable to exception, than every part is of the letter you were pleased to write me. You plead, "that I do not, in mine to Mr. Addison, in direct terms, say I am not concerned with the *Examiner*." And is that an excuse for the most savage injuries in the world a week before? How far you can prevail with the *Guardian*, I shall not trouble myself to enquire; and am more concerned how you will clear your own honour and conscience than my reputation. I shall hardly lose one friend by what you * I know not any laugh at me for any absurdity of yours. There are solecisms in morals as well as in languages; and to which of the virtues you will reconcile your conduct to me, is past my imagination. Be pleased to put these questions to yourself: "If Dr. Swift be entirely innocent of what I accuse him, how shall I be able to make him satisfaction? and how do I know but he may be entirely innocent? If he was laughed at only because he solicited for me, is that sufficient reason for me to say the vilest things of him in print, under my hand, without any provocation? and how do I know but

* Here the manuscript is torn. See p. 363.

" he

“ he may be in the right, when he says I was
 “ kept in my employment at his interposition?
 “ If he never once reflected on me the least in
 “ any paper, and hath hindered many others
 “ from doing it, how can I justify myself, for
 “ endeavouring in mine to ruin his credit as a
 “ Christian and a clergyman?” I am, Sir, your
 most obedient humble servant, **JON. SWIFT.**

L E T T E R CCCCXXI.

To Dr. SWIFT.

S I R,

Bloomsbury, May 26, 1713.

I HAVE received yours, and find it is impossible for a man to judge in his own case. For an allusion to you, as one under the imputation of helping the Examiner*, and owning I was restrained out of respect to you, you tell Addison, under your hand, “ you think me the

* When the curious reader has considered what is forcibly alleged in the notes on the new edition of the *TATLER ut supra*, he will probably be convinced of three things: 1. That STEELE's *estranged friend* was really an accomplice of the Examiner, and an actual writer in that Paper long after the time commonly supposed; 2. That STEELE was not guilty of that ingratitude to Mr. Harley, of which he has been accused; and, 3. That the disagreement of two such men as SWIFT and STEELE is a melancholy proof of the lengths to which party madness will carry even the best of men.—But peace be to the *manes* of them both! The publisher of this volume will be happy if, by any little endeavour of his, the wreath of fame which they have so justly obtained should bloom more brightly.

“ vilest

“ vilest of mankind,” and bid him tell me so. I am obliged to you for any kind things said in my behalf to the Treasurer; and assure you, when you were in Ireland, you were the constant subject of my talk to men in power at that time. As to the vilest of mankind, it would be a glorious world if I were: for I would not conceal my thoughts in favour of an injured man, though all the powers on earth gainsaid it, to be made the first man in the nation. This position, I know, will ever obstruct my way in the world; and I have conquered my desires accordingly. I have resolved to content myself with what I can get by my own industry, and the improvement of a small estate, without being anxious whether I am ever in a Court again or not. I do assure you, I do not speak this calmly, after the ill usage in your letter to Addison, out of terror of your wit, or my Lord Treasurer’s power; but pure kindness to the agreeable qualities I once so passionately delighted in, in you. You know, I know nobody, but one that talked after you, could tell “ Addison had bridled me in point of party.” This was ill hinted, both with relation to him, and, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

RICH. STEELE.

I know no party; but the truth of the question is what I will support as well as I can, when any man I honour is attacked.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXII.

From Dr. SWIFT.

SIR,

May 27, 1713.

THE reason I give you the trouble of this reply to your letter, is because I am going in a very few days to Ireland : and although I intended to return towards winter, yet it may happen, from the common accidents of life, that I may never see you again.

In your yesterday's letter, you are pleased to take the complaining side, and think it hard I should write to Mr. Addison as I did, only for an allusion. This allusion was only calling a clergyman of some little distinction an infidel; a clergyman, who was your friend, who always loved you, who had endeavoured at least to serve you; and who, whenever he did write any thing, made it sacred to himself never to fling out the least hint against you.

One thing you are pleased to fix on me, as what you are sure of; that the Examiner had talked after me, when he said, "Mr. Addison had bridled you in point of party." I do not read one in six of those papers, nor ever knew he had such a passage; and I am so ignorant of this, that I cannot tell what it means: whether, that Mr. Addison kept you close to a party, or that he hindered you from writing about party. I never talked or writ to that author in my life; so that he could not have learned it from me.

B b

And,

And, in short, I solemnly affirm, that, with relation to every friend I have, I am as innocent as it is possible for a human creature to be. And, whether you believe me or not, I think, with submission, you ought to act as if you believed me, till you have demonstration to the contrary. I have all the ministry to be my witnesses, that there is hardly a man of wit of the adverse party, whom I have not been so bold as to recommend often and with earnestness to them: for, I think, principles at present are quite out of the case, and that we dispute wholly about persons*. In these last you and I differ; but in the other, I think, we agree: for I have in print professed myself in politics to be what we formerly called a Whig.

As to the great man † whose defence you undertake; though I do not think so well of him as you do, yet I have been the cause of preventing five hundred hard things being said against him.

I am sensible I have talked too much when myself is the subject: therefore I conclude with sincere wishes for your health and prosperity, and am, Sir, your, &c. JON. SWIFT.

You cannot but remember, that, in the only thing I ever published with my name, I took

* STEELE says, "I thought it was the shortest way to impartiality, to put myself beyond farther hopes or fears, by declaring myself at a time when the dispute is not about *persons* and parties, but things and causes." TAT. N^o 193.

† The Duke of Marlborough.

care to celebrate you as much as I could *, and in as handsome a manner as I could, though it was in a letter to the present Lord Treasurer.

LETTER CCCCXXIII.

To the Right Honourable the [Earl of OXFORD],
LORD HIGH TREASURER of Great-Britain.

MY LORD, Bloomsbury-square, June 4, 1713.

I PRESUME to give your Lordship this trouble to acquaint you, that having an ambition to serve in the ensuing parliament, I humbly desire your Lordship will please to accept of my resignation of my office as Commissioner of the Stamp Revenue.

I should have done this sooner, but that I heard the commission was passing without my name in it, and I would not be guilty of the arrogance of resigning what I could not hold. But having heard this since contradicted, I am

* In his "Proposal for correcting the English Tongue," Swift says, "I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the publick much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers; and is supposed to pursue the same design at present under the title of Spectator. This author, who hath tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with."

obliged to give it up, as with great humility I do by this present writing. Give me leave on this occasion to say something as to my late conduct, with relation to the late men in power, and to assure you whatever I have done, said, or written, has proceeded from no other motive, but the love of what I think truth. For merely as to my own affairs, I could not wish any man in the administration rather than yourself, who favour those that become your dependants with a greater liberality of heart than any man I have ever before observed. When I had the honour of a short conversation with you, you were pleased not only to signify to me, that I should remain in this office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more value, which would be more commodious to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular dependence on your Lordship ; and will tell you with the freedom of an indifferent man, that it is impossible for any man who thinks, and has any public spirit, not to tremble at seeing his country, in its present circumstances, in the hands of so daring a genius as yours. If incidents should arise, that should place your own safety, and what ambitious men call greatness, in a balance against the general good, our all depends upon your choice under such a temptation. You have my hearty and fervent prayers to Heaven, to avert all such dangers from you. I thank your Lordship for the regard and distinction

tion which you have at sundry times shewed me; and wish you, with your country's safety, all happiness and prosperity. Share, my Lord, your good fortune with whom you will; while it lasts, you will want no friends; but if any adverse day happens to you, and I live to see it, you will find I think myself obliged to be your friend and advocate. This is talking in a strange dialect from a private man to the first of a nation; but to desire only a little, exalts a man's condition to a level with those who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordship's pardon; and am, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXIV*.

TO MR. METHUEN†.

SIR,

[1713].

IT is with great pleasure I take an opportunity of publishing the gratitude I owe you

* Prefixed to the seventh volume of "The Spectator."

† Afterward Sir Paul Methuen, Knight of the Bath. This very ingenious gentleman, whilst Ambassador at the Court of Portugal, concluded the famous commercial treaty which bears his name; and, in the same capacity at the Court of Savoy, exerted himself nobly as a military hero. On his return, he was successively appointed to several important offices in the State; a Commissioner of the Admiralty, Nov. 8, 1709; of the Treasury, Oct. 13, 1714; Comptroller of the Household, June 4, 1720; Treasurer of the Household, 1725; and a Commissioner for inspecting the Law, Sept. 15, 1732. He represented the borough of Brackley in the several parliaments which met in 1713, 1714, 1722, 1727, and 1734; and died April 11, 1757, aged 86.

B b 3.

for

for the place you allow me in your friendship and familiarity. I will not acknowledge to you that I have often had you in my thoughts, when I have endeavoured to draw, in some parts of these discourses, the character of a good-natured, honest, and accomplished gentleman. But such representations give my reader an idea of a person blameless only, or only laudable for such perfections as extend no farther than to his own private advantage and reputation.

But when I speak of you, I celebrate one who has had the happiness of possessing also those qualities which make a man useful to society, and of having had opportunities of exerting them in the most conspicuous manner.

The great part you had, as British ambassador, in procuring and cultivating the advantageous commerce between the courts of England and Portugal, has purchased you the lasting esteem of all who understand the interest of either nation.

Those personal excellencies which are overrated by the ordinary world, and too much neglected by wise men, you have applied with the justest skill and judgement. The most graceful address in horsemanship, in the use of the sword, and in dancing, has been employed by you as lower arts; and as they have occasionally served to cover, or introduce the talents of a skilful Minister,

But

But your abilities have not appeared only in one nation. When it was your province to act as her Majesty's minister at the court of Savoy, at that time incamped, you accompanied that gallant Prince through all the vicissitudes of his fortune, and shared by his side the dangers of that glorious day in which he recovered his capital. As far as it regards personal qualities, you attained, in that one hour, the highest military reputation. The behaviour of our Minister in the action, and the good offices done the vanquished in the name of the Queen of England, gave both the conqueror and the captive the most lively examples of the courage and generosity of the nation he represented.

Your friends and companions in your absence frequently talk these things of you; and you cannot hide from us (by the most discreet-silence in any thing which regards yourself) that the frank entertainment we have at your table, your easy condescension in little incidents of mirth and diversion, and general complacency of manners, are far from being the greatest obligations we have to you. I do assure you, there is not one of your friends has a greater sense of your merit in general, and of the favours you every day do us, than, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXV*.

To the Worshipful Mr. JOHN SNOW, Bailiff of
Stockbridge †.

SIR, [September, or October, 1713.]

ACCORDING to my promise when I took my leave of you, I send you all the pamphlets and papers which have been printed since the dissolution of the last parliament; among these you will find your humble servant no small man, but spoken of more than once in print: you will find I take up whole pages in the *Examiner*, and that there is a little pamphlet written wholly upon me, and directed to me †. As you are the magistrate of the town wherein, of all places in the world, it concerns me most to appear a different man from the person whom these writers represent me, I address my vindication to you, and, at the same time, to the whole Borough §.

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What

* This Letter is extracted from "The Importance of Dunkirk considered; in Defence of the Guardian of August the 7th, 1713, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge." For the political part, which is here omitted, the reader is referred to Steele's Political Writings, p. 23, *et seq.*

† In a "Journey to Exeter, 1716," Gay says,
"Of all our race of mayors shall Snow alone
Be by Sir Richard's dedication known?"

‡ "The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated and defended against the unexampled Insolence of the Author of the *Guardian*: In a Letter from a Country Whig to Mr. Steele."

§ This Epistle was followed, Nov. 2, 1713, by one of the severest

What was urged concerning Dunkirk, in the Letter to the Guardian, was apparently and professedly laid before the ministry, that they might not be unmindful of what the British nation expect from them. I say again and again, if once men are so intimidated as not to dare to offer their thoughts upon public affairs, without incurring the imputation of offending against the prerogative of their Prince; that Prince, whatever advantage his ministers might make of his prerogative, would himself soon have no prerogative but that of being deceived. As for my part, I have that sincere and faithful duty to her Majesty, that I will never fear to attempt any thing that I am able for her service, however her favour may be intercepted from me. The Examiner accuses me of ingratitude, as being actually under salary, when I writ the letter to the Guardian; but he is mistaken in that particular, for I had resigned, not only my office in the stamp duties*, but also my pension as servant to

verest productions of Swift, intituled, "The Importance of the Guardian considered, in a second Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, by a Friend of Mr. Steele;" in which "poor Dick" is unmercifully belaboured by the Colossus of the opposite party.

* This he had done, June 4, 1713; see p. 371. The "Guardian" complained of, under the signature of "English Tory," was not published till August 7.—Swift on this occasion invidiously says, "1. A new commission was every day expected for the stamp-paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought. 2. He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security. 3. Being

to his late Royal Highness, which her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the whole family of that excellent Prince : I divested myself of all that I was so happy to enjoy by her Majesty's goodness and favour, before I would presume to write any thing, which was so apparently an advertisement to those employed in her service.

I have thrown away all expectations of preferment for the happiness of serving in parliament, and for the hopes of having a vote in the legislature in the present great crisis of affairs : as long as I enjoy this station (from which the Examiner takes the liberty to suggest I shall be expelled) I shall follow no leader or leaders, but act, that is to say, vote, according to the dictates of my conscience, in the public service. . . .

Mr. Bailiff, as there have been very unjust representations given of me in your town, as that a man of so small fortune as I am must have secret views or supports, which could move him to leave his employments, and lose a crowd of well-wishers, to subject himself, as he must know he has, not only to the disesteem, but also the scorn and hatred of very many, who, before he intermeddled with the publick, had a partiality towards him : I answer, that I indeed have particular views ; and, though I may be ridiculous

“ 3. Being a person of great sagacity, he hath some foresight of a
 “ change, from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost
 “ expired ; from the little misunderstandings that have been re-
 “ ported sometimes to happen among the men in power ; from the
 “ Bill of Commerce being rejected,” &c. &c.

for

for saying it, I hope I am animated in my conduct by a grace which is as little practised as understood, and that is charity. It is the happiness and comfort of all men, who have a regard to their fellow-creatures, and desire their good-will upon a proper foundation, that every thing which is truly laudable is what every man living may attain. The greatest merit is in having social virtues, such as justice and truth, exalted with benevolence to mankind. Great qualifications are not praises to the possessor but from the application of them ; and all that is justly commendable among men, is to love and serve them as much as it is in your power, with a contempt of all advantages to yourself (above the conveniencies of life) but as they tend to the service of the publick. He who has warmed his heart with impressions of this kind, will find glowings of good-will, which will support him in the service of his country against all the calumny, reproach, and invective, that can be thrown upon him. He is but a poor creature who cannot bear being odious in the service of virtue. Riches and honours can administer to the heart no pleasure, like what an honest man feels when he is contending for the interests of his country, and the civil rights of his fellow-subjects, without which the being of man grows brute, and he can never, under it, give to Heaven that worship which is called a reasonable sacrifice, nor support towards his fellow-creatures that

that worthy disposition, which we call disinterested friendship. The highest pleasure of the human soul consists in this charity ; and there is no way of making it so diffusive, as by contending for liberty.

As to laying aside the common views by which the mistaken world are actuated, a man of liberal education can easily surmount those low considerations ; and when he considers himself, from the moment he was born into this world, an immortal, though a changeable being, he will form his interests and prospects accordingly, and not make provision for eternity with perishable things. When a man has deeply planted such a sentiment as this for the rule of his conduct, the pursuits of avarice and ambition will become as contemptible as the sports of children ; and there can be no honours, no riches, no pleasures laid in his way, which can possibly come in competition with the satisfactions of an enlarged and public spirit.

From this moment, therefore, I shall go on with as much vigour and chearfulness as I am able, to do all that is in my power, without the least partiality to persons or parties, to remove the prejudices which Englishman has against Englishman, and reconcile wounded brethren, so far as to behold each other's actions with an inclination to approve them.

The man who will reduce himself to this temper,

per, will easily perceive how far his affections have been wrought upon and abused, from an opposition to particular men, to sacrifice the interests of his country itself.

The prostituted pens which are employed in a quite contrary service, will be very ready to entertain a pretender to such reformatations with a recital of his own faults and infirmities; but I am very well prepared for such usage, and give up myself to all nameless authors, to be treated just as their mirth or their malice directs them.

It is the disgrace of literature, that there are such instruments; and to good government, that they are suffered: but this mischief is gone so far in our age, that the pamphleteers do not only attack those whom they believe in general disaffected to their own principles, but even such as they believe their friends, provided they do not act with as sincere a prejudice as themselves. Upon the least deviation from an implicit hatred to the opposite party, though in a case which in the nearest concern affects their country, all their good qualities are turned to ridicule; and every thing, which was before valued in them, is become contemptible. Thus in one of the papers I send you, a gentleman, who has distinguished himself by a becoming veneration, in the House of Commons, for the assembly, and has ever delivered himself with a regard to his
own

own dignity, and that of the place he was in ; is represented frivolously as a declaimer : and a noble Lord, who is conspicuously adorned with the knowledge of letters, and is eminent for a lively sprightly eloquence, rectified by learning ; is declared a companion fit only for pert novices and sophisters. And what is still more monstrous than all, a third man of quality, for the like offence, is told, in this nice age of proportioning rewards to merit and service, that he has as much as he deserves.

But it is to be hoped Englishmen will at last consider, and that the Ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished,

It is as frivolous as unjust, to hope to stop our mouths when we are concerned for so great a point as the business of Dunkirk, by mention of the prerogative, and urging our safety in our good and gracious Queen.

By her great example, religion, piety, and all other public and domestic virtues, are kept in countenance in a very loose and profligate age ; all the hours of her precious life, which God long preserve, are divided between the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime affairs of her government.

Besides which, her Majesty has manifested herself the most affectionate wife, the most constant friend, the most tender mother, and has filled every duty with a virtue as superior to the rest

rest of the world as is her high condition. But I shall leave what I have to say on this topick, to the time when the consequence of it will be insignificant to me, but which, I hope, will do her honour, that is, justice, when I am no more, and the remains of her sacred person are as common dust as mine.

But, as this bright example is in the person of a lady, it cannot be supposed that the general sense of a people, the sub-divisions of affection and interest among great men (to be learned only by conversation with them, even in their unguarded leisure), can appear to her but from the information of such as have the happiness and honour to lay them before her. Her Majesty is therefore more particularly necessitated to rely upon the intelligence of her Ministry; and, from that very reason, their fellow-subjects may be the more solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary rules of government. Thus all which they offer for our security and implicit reliance upon what is transacted by the court of England, to wit, her Majesty's care and goodness, are arguments for exerting both our zeal and our gratitude; that at any time artful men may not take advantage of the security we have in her virtue, to indulge too much the power of any foreign Prince whatsoever, especially that of the most warlike potentate in Europe.

I cannot leave this subject without being still

anxious with relation to the disrespect they accuse me of to my royal Mistress. All that can be wrested to my disadvantage is, that the Queen is concerned when any thing is to be imputed to her servants; but I deny that, and persist in it, that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a Prince, that he is obliged to act by the information of others.

If I might make an abrupt digression from great things to small, I should on this occasion mention a little circumstance which happened to the late King William. He had a Frenchman who took care of the gun-dogs, whose business it was also to charge and deliver the piece to the King. This minister forgot to bring out shot into the field; but did not think fit to let so passionate a man and eager a sportsman as the King know his offence, but gave his Majesty the gun loaded only with powder. When the King missed his aim, this impudent cur stood chattering, admiring, commending the King's skill in shooting, and, holding up his hands, "he had never seen *sa Majesté* miss before in his "whole life." This circumstance was no manner of argument to those (who afterwards found out the fellow's iniquity) against the King's reputation for a quick eye, and shooting very finely. I am, with respect to the Borough and yourself, Sir, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXVI*.

To Lieutenant-general CADOGAN †.

SIR,

[1713.]

IN the character of GUARDIAN, it behoves me to do honour to such as have deserved well of society, and laid out worthy and manly qualities in the service of the publick. No man has more eminently distinguished himself this way than Mr. Cadogan. With a contempt of pleasure, rest, and ease, when called to the duties of your glorious profession, you have lived in a familiarity with dangers, and, with a strict eye upon the final purpose of the attempt, have wholly disregarded what should befall yourself

* Prefixed to the first volume of "The Guardian."

† Wm. Cadogan, esq. (see p. 113.) Quarter-master-general in 1701; Colonel of a regiment of horse in 1703; Brigadier-general in 1704; Plenipotentiary to the Spanish Netherlands, and Major-general, in 1706; Lieutenant-general in 1709; on the accession of King George, Master of the Robes, and Colonel of the second regiment of horse-guards; Knight of the Thistle in 1715; Governor of the Isle of Wight, and Plenipotentiary to Holland, in 1716; created Lord Cadogan, June 21, that year; Baron Oakley, Viscount Caversham, and Earl Cadogan, April 17, 1718. On the death of the Duke of Marlborough in 1722, he was made Master-general of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards. He died July 17, 1726.—No officer was ever so much relied on by the Duke of Marlborough as General Cadogan. He had the care of marking out almost every camp during the war in the Netherlands and Germany; which he executed so skillfully, that, it was observed, the Duke was never surprized or attacked in his camp during the whole war.

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in the prosecution of it. Thus has life risen to you as fast as you resigned it; and every new hour, for having so frankly lent the preceding moments to the cause of justice and of liberty, has come home to you, improved with honour. This happy distinction, which is so very peculiar to you, with the addition of industry, vigilance, patience of labour, thirst and hunger, in common with the meanest foldier, has made your present fortune unenvied. For the publick always reap greater advantage from the example of successful merit, than the deserving man himself can possibly be possessed of; your country knows how eminently you excell in the several parts of military skill, whether in assigning the encampment, accommodating the troops, leading to the charge, or pursuing the enemy: the retreat being the only part of the profession which has not fallen within the experience of those who learned their warfare under the Duke of Marlborough. But the true and honest purpose of this epistle is, to desire a place in your friendship, without pretending to add any thing to your reputation, who, by your own gallant actions, have acquired that your name through all ages shall be read with honour, where-ever mention shall be made of that illustrious Captain. I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

THE GUARDIAN.

L E T T E R

LETTER CCCCXXVII*.

To Mr. PULTENEY †.

SIR,

[1713].

THE greatest honour of human life, is to live well with men of merit; and I hope you will pardon me the vanity of publishing, by this means, my happiness in being able to name you among my friends. The conversation of a gentleman, that has a refined taste of letters, and a disposition in which those letters

* Prefixed to the second volume of "The Guardian."

† William Pulteney, esq. born in 1682, had early a seat in the House of Commons, and distinguished himself in opposition to Queen Anne's last ministry. On the accession of King George, he was appointed Secretary at War, Sept. 27, 1714; and afterward Cofferer of the Household. He was at this time the intimate friend of Sir Robert Walpole; but in 1725, that Minister being suspected of a desire to extend the bounds of prerogative, Mr. Pulteney entered steadily into opposition; and at last became so obnoxious to the Crown, that, July 1, 1731, King George II. with his own hand, struck him out of the list of Privy Counsellors, and ordered him to be put out of the list of all commissions of the peace. A proceeding so violent in the Ministry served only to inflame his resentment, and increase his popularity. Sir Robert resigning his employments in 1741, Mr. Pulteney was again sworn of the Privy Council; and created Baron of Heydon, Viscount Pulteney, and Earl of Bath. From that moment his favour with the people was at an end; and the rest of his life was spent in contemning that applause which he no longer could secure. William Viscount Pulteney, his only son, who was a Lord of the Bedchamber, Aid-de-camp to the King, and Colonel of the Royal Volunteers, going over with his regiment in the defence of Portugal, died Feb. 16, 1763; and the Earl dying July 7, 1764, the titles became extinct.

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found nothing to correct, but very much to exert, is a good fortune too uncommon to be enjoyed in silence: in others, the greatest business of learning is to weed the soil; in you, it had nothing else to do but to bring forth fruit. Affability, complacency, and generosity of heart, which are natural to you, wanted nothing from literature, but to refine and direct the application of them. After I have boasted I had some share in your familiarity, I know not how to do you the justice of celebrating you for the choice of an elegant and worthy acquaintance, with whom you live in the happy communication of generous sentiments, which contribute, not only to your own mutual entertainment and improvement, but to the honour and service of your country. Zeal for the public good is the characteristick of a man of honour and a gentleman, and must take place of pleasures, profits, and all other private gratifications. Whoever wants this motive, is an open enemy, or an inglorious neuter, to mankind, in proportion to the misapplied advantages with which Nature and Fortune have blessed him. But you have a soul animated with nobler views, and know that the distinction of wealth and plenteous circumstances is a tax upon an honest mind, to endeavour, as much as the occurrences of life will give him leave, to guard the properties of

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others, and be vigilant for the good of his fellow-subjects.

This generous inclination no man possesses in a warmer degree than yourself; which, that Heaven would reward with long possession of that reputation into which you have made so early an entrance, the reputation of a man of sense, a good citizen, and agreeable companion, a disinterested friend, and an unbiaſſed patriot, is the hearty prayer of, Sir, your most obliged, and most obedient, humble servant,

THE GUARDIAN.

L E T T E R CCCCXXVIII*.

To Mr. ADDISON.

[1713.]

WHILE you the fierce divided Britons awe,
And Cato with an equal virtue draw,
While Envy is itself in wonder lost,
And factions strive who shall applaud you most;
Forgive the fond ambition of a Friend,
Who hopes himself, not you, to recommend,
And join th' applause which all the Learn'd bestow
On one, to whom a perfect work they owe.
To my light scenes† I once inscrib'd your name,
And impotently strove to borrow fame;
Soon will that die which adds thy name to mine;
Let me then live, join'd to a work of thine!

RICHARD STEELE.

* Prefixed to the Tragedy of "Cato."

† "The Tender Husband." See p. 290.

LETTER CCCCXXIX*.

To the CLERGY of the Church of England†.

GENTLEMEN,

Jan. 19, 1713-14.

IT is with a just deference to your great power and influence in this kingdom, that I lay before you the following comment upon the laws which regard the settlement of the imperial crown of Great Britain. My purpose in addressing these matters to you is, to conjure you, as Heaven has blessed you with proper talents and opportunities, to recommend them, in your writings and discourses to your fellow-subjects.

In the character of pastors and teachers, you have an almost irresistible power over us of your congregations; and, by the admirable institution of our laws, the tenths of our lands, now

* Prefixed to the celebrated pamphlet called "The Crisis." See p. 101. In the 8th number of 'The Englishman,' Oct. 22, 1713, Mr. Steele inserted a letter, giving notice, that 'The Crisis' was then ready for the press; and concluding in these words: "The price of this discourse will be but one shilling; and persons who are willing to subscribe for numbers of them, are desired to leave their names and such numbers with Mr. Samuel Buckley, at the Dolphin, in Little Britain. I beg the favour of you to insert this in your very next paper; for I shall govern myself, in the number I print, according to the number of subscriptions." After the subscription had continued open more than two months, 'The Englishman,' No 26, Dec. 26, acquainted the publick, that, "at the desire of several ladies of quality, the publication of 'The Crisis' is put off till the female world have expressed their zeal for the publick by a subscription as large as that made among the other sex." The Crisis appeared, on the 19th of January, 1714.

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in your possession, are destined to become the property of such others as shall, by learning and virtue, qualify themselves to succeed you. These circumstances of education and fortune place the minds of the people, from age to age, under your direction. As, therefore, it would be the highest indiscretion in ministers of state of this kingdom to neglect the care of being acceptable to you in their administration; so it would be the greatest impiety in you, to inflame the people committed to your charge, with apprehensions of danger to you and your constitution, from men innocent of any such designs.

Give *me* leave, who have in all my words and actions, from my youth upwards *, maintained an inviolable respect to you and your order, to observe to you, that all the dissatisfactions which have been raised in the minds of the people, owe their rise to the cunning of artful men, who have introduced the mention of you and your interest (which are sacred to all good men) to cover and sanctify their own practices upon the affections of the people, for ends very different from the promotion of religion and virtue. Give me leave also to take notice, that

* See his declaration, already cited in p. 282, in respect to "The Christian Hero." He adds, however, that, "finding himself slighted, instead of being encouraged, for his declaration as to religion, it became incumbent on him to enliven his character; for which reason he wrote 'The Funeral,' in which, though full of incidents that move laughter, Virtue and Vice appear just as they ought to do."

these suggestions have been favoured by some few unwary men in holy orders, who have made the constitution of their own country a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses.

These men, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness, and submission to absolute emperors, which they imbibed in their earlier years, have, from time to time, inadvertently uttered notions of power and obedience abhorrent from the laws of this their native country.

I will take the further liberty to say, that if the acts of parliament mentioned in the following treatise had been from time to time put in a fair and clear light, and been carefully recommended to the perusal of young gentlemen in colleges, with a preference to all other civil institutions whatsoever; this kingdom had not been in its present condition: but the constitution would have had, in every member the universities have sent into the world, ever since the Revolution, an advocate for our rights and liberties.

There is one thing which deserves your most serious consideration. You have bound yourselves, by the strongest engagements that Religion can lay upon men, to support that succession which is the subject of the following papers; you have tied down your souls by an oath to maintain it as it is settled in the House of Hanover;

never; nay, you have gone much further than is usual in cases of this nature, as you have personally abjured the Pretender to this Crown, and that expressly, without any equivocations or mental reservations whatsoever, that is, without any possible escapes, by which the subtlety of temporizing casuists might hope to elude the force of these solemn obligations. You know much better than I do, whether the calling God to witness to the sincerity of our intentions in these cases, whether the swearing upon the holy Evangelists in the most solemn manner, whether the taking of an oath before multitudes of fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians in our public courts of justice, do not lay the greatest obligations that can be laid on the consciences of men. This I am sure of, that if the body of a Clergy, who considerately and voluntarily entered into these engagements, should be made use of as instruments and examples to make the nation break through them, not only the succession to our Crown, but the very essence of our Religion is in danger. What a triumph would it furnish to those evil men among us who are enemies to your sacred order! what occasion would it administer to Atheists and Unbelievers, to say that Christianity is nothing else but an outward show and pretence among the most knowing of its professors! What could we afterwards object to Jesuits? what would be the scandal brought upon

upon our holy Church, which is at present the glory and bulwark of the Reformation? how would our present Clergy appear in the eyes of their posterity, and even to the successors of their own order, under a government introduced and established by a conduct so directly opposite to all the rules of honour and precepts of Christianity!

As I always speak and think of your holy order with the utmost deference and respect, I do not insist upon this subject to insinuate that there is such a disposition among your venerable body, but to shew how much your own honour and the interest of religion is concerned, that there should be no cause given for it.

Under colour of a zeal towards you, men may sometimes act not only with impunity but popularity, what would render them, without that hypocrisy, insufferably odious to their fellow-subjects.

Under this pretence, men may presume to practise such arts for the destruction and dishonour of their country, as it would be impious to make use of, even for its glory and safety: men may do in the highest prosperity, what it would not be excusable to attempt under the lowest necessity!

The laws of our country, the powers of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God, may be too weak considerations to bear
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up against the popular, though groundless, cry of the Church. This fatal prepossession may shelter men in raising the French name and Roman Catholic interest in Great Britain, and consequently in all Europe.

It behoves you therefore, Gentlemen, to consider, whether the cry of the Church's danger may not at length become a truth : and as you are men of sense, and men of honour, to exert yourselves in undeceiving the multitude, whenever their affectionate concern for you may prove fatal to themselves.

You are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry, who can distinguish your merit, and do honour to your characters. They know with what firmness as Englishmen, with what self-denial as Prelates, with what charity as Christians, the Lords the Bishops, Fathers of the Church, have behaved themselves in the public cause : they know what contumelies the rest of the Clergy have undergone, what discountenance they have laboured under, what prejudice they have suffered in their ministry, who have adhered to the cause of truth : but it is certain that the face of things is now too melancholy to bear any longer false appearances ; and common danger has united men, who not long ago were artfully inflamed against each other, into some regard of their common safety.

When the world is in this temper, those of
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our pastors, whose exemplary lives, and charitable dispositions, both adorn and advance our holy religion, will be the objects of our love and admiration; and those who pursue the gratifications of pride, ambition, and avarice, under the sacred character of Clergymen, will not fail to be our contempt and derision.

Noise and wrath cannot always pass for zeal; and if we see but little of the public spirit of Englishmen, or the charity of Christians, in others, it is certain we can feel but little of the pleasure of love and gratitude, and but faint emotions of respect and veneration in ourselves.

It will be an action worthy the ministers of the Church of England, to distinguish themselves for the love of their country; and as we have a religion that wants no assistance from artifice or enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth, to let mankind see that we have a Clergy who are of the people, obedient to the same laws, and zealous not only of the supremacy and prerogative of our princes, but of the liberties of their fellow-subjects: this will make us, who are your flock, burn with joy to see, and with zeal to imitate, your lives and actions. It cannot be expected but that there will be, in so great a body, light, superficial, vain, and ambitious men, who being untouched with the sublime force of the Gospel,

Gospel, will think it their interest to insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration which they know they cannot deserve from their virtue. But while the most worthy, conspicuous, learned, and powerful, of your sacred function, are moved by the noble and generous incentives of doing good to the souls of men, we will not doubt of seeing by your ministry the love of our country, due regard for our laws and liberties, and resentment for the abuse of truth, revive in the hearts of men. And as there are no instruments under Heaven so capable of this great work, that God would make you such to this divided nation, is the hearty prayer of, Gentlemen, your most dutiful, and most obedient, humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCXXX*.

To General STANHOPE †.

SIR,

[1714.]

THERE could not be a more proper patron to the ENGLISHMAN than He who, in the esteem

* Prefixed to the first volume of "The Englishman."

† James Stanhope, grandson to the first Earl of Chesterfield by his second lady, having served when very young as a volunteer under the Duke of Savoy, was made a Captain in the foot-guards, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, in 1694; was a member of the House of Commons from 1700 till created a peer;

esteem of all men, is as much one, as any who enjoys the honour and happiness of that name. If plain-dealing, generosity, and truth, have distinguished us from the base and wily arts of our enemies, these qualities Mr. Stanhope possesses in common with all true Englishmen; but those endowments and acquisitions which make him capable of exerting the noble dispositions peculiar to free and generous Britons, are what render him one of the greatest men of the greatest people.

A natural and prevailing eloquence in assemblies, an heroic and inspiring courage in the field, a gentle and winning behaviour in conversation, are eminences which enable you to be a

peer; served a volunteer in 1702 in the expedition to Cadiz, and next year in Portugal; was made a Brigadier-general in 1704; Envoy Extraordinary to Charles III. in 1706; Major-general in 1707; and Commander in Chief of the forces in Spain, 1708. The same year he subdued Minorca; and in 1710 commanded the English forces at the battles of Almanza and Saragossa, to which victories he greatly contributed, and facilitated the march of Charles III. to Madrid. He was constituted first Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, April 11, 1717; created Viscount Stanhope of Mahon, July 21; Secretary of State, March 21, 1717-18; Earl Stanhope, April 7, 1718; and was sent the same year to France and Spain, to conclude the negotiations for a general peace; was one of the Lords Justices in 1719; was twice in France, where he brought the King of Spain to accede to the quadruple alliance; and on his return was again one of the Lords Justices. He was suddenly seized with a dizziness in his head, occasioned by the vehemence of a debate in the House of Peers, Feb. 4, 1720-1; and died next day.

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bleſſing to the age in which you live. You have ever uſed theſe advantages for the ſervice of your country, with a beautiful diſregard to what is uſually thought a man's greateſt intereſt. All men of ſenſe give you, in their real ſentiments and juſt conceptions of your merit, much greater honours than could be purchaſed from the gaudy affluence of ſuch things as are the admiration and firſt purſuit of common men.

Many circumſtances render it inconvenient to ſay much of the preſent I now make you; but if I had, inſtead of forming the character of an Engliſhman from my own conceptions, drawn it from the gentleman to whom I am now ſpeaking, it had been much eaſier to have defended it. I do not by this application deſign to involve you in a diſpute in favour of theſe writings; you undertook it, with great humanity, when it was moſt uſeful to me*, and I cannot but do thoſe who have condemned them the juſtice to mention to the world this ſtrong circumſtance againſt theſe papers, that your eloquence has been ineffectual in their defence. However, no one can blame me for being proud

* In the Houſe of Commons, on the queſtion for his expulſion, " Mr. Steele choſe to make his appearance near the bar of the Houſe, and I will not forget to mention one circumſtance in this ſcene that very much ſweetened his affliction, which was, that he had the honour to ſtand between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, who had condeſcended to take upon them the parts of his advocates." *Apology*, p. 234.

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that so good and great a man condescended, in places wherein they have been censured, to be my advocate.

Your Queen and country have your great qualifications in store for their glory and service, whenever you are called to their assistance in the field, the cabinet, or the senate. In the talents of each place you have few equals in ability, even among those who are practised only in one of them, and much fewer in a disinterested integrity in exerting that ability. Your generous conduct with relation to the fortunes as well as the lives of your enemies, over whom you have had the right of conquest, has gained you the most eligible fame, that of justice and moderation. This generous conduct has made every man you ever commanded love you as a comrade, and every fellow-subject you have served (and you have served every fellow-subject) esteem you as a friend. The world, which is in arrear to your virtue, never speaks of you without wishing you honour in proportion to what you have done for your country's glory, and wishing you wealth in proportion to what you have refused, to augment that glory.

I am, Sir, with the greatest gratitude and respect, your most obliged and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXXI*.

To Mr. CONGREVE†.

SIR,

[1714.]

MY name, as publisher of the following Miscellanies, I am sensible, is but a slight recommendation of them to the publick; but the town's opinion of them will be raised, when it sees them addressed to Mr. Congreve. If the patron is but known to have a taste for what is presented to him, it gives an hopeful idea of the work; how much more, when he is an acknowledged master of the art he is desired to

* Prefixed to Steele's collection of "Poetical Miscellanies."

† Mr. William Congreve was born in Staffordshire in 1672. His father being a steward in the Burlington family, he was bred in Ireland. Soon after the Revolution, he was entered of the Middle Temple; but, the law proving too severe a study for his inclination, he early distinguished himself as a dramatic writer. His first comedy, "The Old Bachelor," came out in 1693; and that munificent patron of wit, the Earl of Halifax, soon after made him a Commissioner of the Hackney-coaches, gave him a place in the Pipe-office, and another in the Customs, worth 600*l.* a year. He continued writing with success till 1698, when he seems to have quitted the stage in disgust. Under the ministry of the Earl of Oxford, he was continued in office, though almost blind, through the friendship of Dr. Swift; and the latter years of his life were spent in ease and retirement. He became at last quite blind; and, dying Jan. 19, 1728-9, was buried with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, where an elegant monument was erected to his memory at the expence of Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough, to whom he bequeathed the greater part of his fortune. See Southern's account of Congreve, from an autograph paper in the British Museum, in the late edition of the *TATLER* with Notes, vol. VI. *note*, p. 471, & *seq.*

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favour? Your just success in the various parts of Poetry, will make your approbation of the following sheets a favour to many ingenious gentlemen, whose modesty wants the sanction of such an authority. Men of your talents oblige the world, when they are studious to produce in others the similitude of their excellencies. Your great discerning in distinguishing the characters of mankind, which is manifested in your Comedies, renders your good opinion a just foundation for the esteem of other men. I know, indeed, no argument against these collections, in comparison of any other Tonson has heretofore printed; but that there are in it no verses of yours. That gentle, free, and easy faculty, which also in songs, and short poems*, you possess above all others, distinguishes itself wherever it appears. I cannot but instance your inimitable "Doris," which excels, for politeness, fine raillery, and courtly satire, any thing we can meet with in any language.

Give me leave to tell you, that when I consider your capacity this way, I cannot enough applaud the goodness of your mind, that has given so few examples of these severities, under the temptation of so great applause as the ill-natured world bestows on them, though addressed without any mixture of your delicacy.

* Dr. Johnson was of a different opinion. "The petty poems of Congreve," he says, "are seldom worth the cost of criticism." See Atterbury's Letters, vol. IV. p. 215.

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I cannot leave my favourite "Doris" without taking notice how much that short performance discovers a true knowledge of life. "Doris" is the character of a libertine woman of condition, and the satire is worked up accordingly; for people of quality are seldom touched with any representation of their vices but in a light which makes them ridiculous.

As much as I esteem you for your excellent writings, by which you are an honour to our nation, I chuse rather, as one that has passed many happy hours with you, to celebrate that easy condescension of mind, and command of a pleasant imagination, which give you the uncommon praise of a man of wit, always to please, and never to offend. No one, after a joyful evening, can reflect upon an expression of Mr. Congreve's that dwells upon him with pain.

In a man capable of exerting himself any way, this (whatever the vain and ill-natured may think of the matter) is an excellence above the brightest fallies of imagination.

The reflection upon this most equal, amiable, and correct behaviour, which can be observed only by your intimate acquaintance, has quite diverted me from acknowledging your several excellencies as a writer; but to dwell particularly on those subjects would have no very good effect upon the following performances of my-

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self, and friends. Thus, I confess to you, your modesty is spared only by my vanity; and I hope you will give me leave to indulge it yet further, in telling all the world I am, with great truth, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXXII*.

To Lord FINCH †.

MY LORD,

May 25, 1714.

THIS first part of a narration, to which I have given the title of "A Roman Ecclesiastical
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* Prefixed to "The Romish Ecclesiastical History of late Years."—It may be proper just to mention, that the dedication to "An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the World," though published by Steele, was the production of his friend Bishop Hoadly, and therefore not republished here, its origination was a circumstance of such public notoriety, as ill deserved the malicious reflection it produced from Swift; that

" — Steele, who own'd what others writ,
" And flourish'd by imputed wit,
" From perils of a hundred jails,
" Withdrew to starve, and die in Wales."

It is added, on the written testimony of Dr. John Hoadly, who put the same interpretation on the ill-natured lines above quoted, that SWIFT, with his usual arrogance, was highly offended with the publication of the fine piece of irony and grave humour above mentioned, under the name of STEELE, and thus insolently resented it, as if forsooth it had been an invasion of a province which he idly affected to monopolize, and of which he dreamed that he was the only person in the world competent to be the manager. See in HARRISON's *Spurious Tatler*, vol. V.

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“fiaslical History,” is only an account of some collateral and contemporary circumstances and secret

Nº 28, SWIFT’s account of himself, under the fictitious name of *Hiereus*.

The lines above quoted may likewise very well be supposed to allude to STEELE’s publishing papers of other writers in the TATLER, SPECTATOR, and GUARDIAN. These he generally, though not always, distinguished from his own by certain signatures; and as he ordinarily bought them, he had, unquestionably, a right to publish and to vend them. Addison was paid, probably very amply, for his papers; and Dr. JOHNSON says, he received his payments for them with “avidity and great eagerness.”—It appears, on the testimony of the Bishop’s son, that Bp. Berkeley had always one guinea and a dinner with Sir Richard Steele for every paper of his in the Guardian; and there is little doubt but that, in all Steele’s publications, the assistances he had from others, when they would accept of pecuniary gratifications for them, were well rewarded by a man who sometimes perhaps might be vainly profuse, and too often imprudently generous. See more of this in a note on the *new* TATLER, vol. VI. Nº 271, p. 451, & seq.

† Daniel Finch, eldest son to Daniel Earl of Nottingham. He was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Rutland in the ninth of Queen Anne, and served for the same county in all parliaments whilst he continued a commoner. On the accession of King George I. he was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, our late Sovereign, when his father was declared Lord President of the Council; also on October 10, 1715, was constituted one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and resigned all his employments February 29, 1715-16. His Lordship was made Comptroller of His Majesty’s Household, May 25, 1725; which office he voluntarily resigned, after he succeeded his father as Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham (Jan. 1, 1729-30). On June 1, 1725, he was sworn of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy-council. On March 16, 1741, his Lordship was constituted First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty; and on April 15, 1743, was appointed one of the Lords Justices on his Majesty’s absence

secret passages, joined to an account of the ceremony of the last inauguration of Saints, by his Holiness the Pope.

It displays the utmost abuse of Christianity, and that to the most fantastical degree. After the See of Rome has usurped the dominion over the whole earth, it goes on to dispose of Heaven also, and to name the inhabitants of those blessed mansions. These she employs to receive the importunities of mortals, before they come at the Almighty. Is this for His ease who is all-sufficient,—for His information who is omniscient? Gross!—prophane!—ridiculous!

This account gives us a lively idea of the pageantry used in that Church to strike the imaginations of the vulgar, and needs only to be repeated, to give every serious man, an abhorrence as well as contempt of their idolatry. I take the liberty to address it to your Lordship, in regard that you are by birth, and imitation

in his German dominions. His Lordship was one of the assistants to the Duke of Somerset, chief mourner at the funeral of Frederick, Prince of Wales, April 13, 1751. On March 13, 1752, he was elected Knight Companion of the most noble order of the Garter, and installed on June 4 following. His Lordship, on April 6, 1757, was a second time appointed First Lord of the Admiralty; but resigned in June following. At the accession of the present King, he was continued a member of the Privy-council, and constituted President thereof on July 12, 1765, which office he resigned July 30, 1766. His Lordship was also one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-house. He departed this life, at his house on Parson's-green, Middlesex, August 2, 1769, in the 81st year of his age.

of

of your predeceffors, obliged to exert a firm and unshaken zeal to our Church, which is reformed from such absurdities, and retains every thing that is consistent with gravity, good sense, true religion, virtue, and piety. Descriptions wherein men, dedicated to the service of God, bear a part, are never to be made to the derogation of such his servants, except in cases wherein they apparently abuse that respect which the Laity have for them, as conductors to a better life, to serve their own power, vanity, and ambition in this. When that happens to be the case, it is our business to obviate such injuries in the first attempts of imposing them on mankind: for we neglect our duty to Heaven when we permit its interests to be prostituted to ends unworthy. For this reason, I dare acknowledge that any power affected by Clergymen, above what the laws of our country allow them, or independent of the Sovereignty of it, is to me Popery. I cannot think the endeavour at temporal power from the service at the altar a less guilt, than building a false superstructure upon that foundation, which only can be laid for spiritual and holy purposes.

Your noble Father has, in all his actions, maintained so unbiaſſed an affection to the Church of England, that to his zeal, more than to that of any other man, it owes the inhibition, “ that any who dissent from her shall bear office

"in these realms*." None can desire more, who do not think it reasonable that they should also be excluded from property, and deprived of life itself, for Nonconformity.

I have often asserted, that they who affect professing their zeal for the Church on all occasions, reduced themselves to an absurdity, and betrayed the weakness of their cause, when they ranked his Lordship among those whom they call Whigs. By this one circumstance they acknowledge it is not care of Religion, I say, it is not respect to Religion, or to the persons of Clergymen, but joining in a combination with the least known for virtue and piety among them; and adding the cry of the Church to their common projects for power and domination, which constitutes those (whom they call) Churchmen.

Your Lordship has too good a discerning, to want that these things should be pointed to you; and it is to the frank spirit of men of your age and abilities among the nobility and gentry, we must owe the amendment of such inveterate evils.

I congratulate your Lordship upon the early conspicuous figure you make in the business of

* To this noble Earl the Church was afterwards indebted for an Answer to a pamphlet of Whiston's, 1721; for which his Lordship was complimented by addresses from both the Universities, and from the London Clergy.

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the nation; and doubt not but you will, every year of your life, give new testimonies of your being a true son of the Church of England, and an exemplary patriot to your country.

The noble motive which first produced your natural eloquence* was what should be the great purpose of that charming force in all who are blessed with it, the protection of the oppressed; and I doubt not but your future conduct will

* An allusion to a circumstance in the life of this nobleman, not commonly known, that well deserves to be recorded to his honour, and the relation of which is requisite to make what is here said intelligible. In a paper of his in the Guardian STEELE published a spirited defence of Lady Charlotte Finch, who had been treated with rudeness and ill manners by an anonymous writer in the Examiner, for alledged misbehaviour in church; and won by this the heart of her brother, probably pre-disposed in favour of an amiable man, and, it may be, attached to him by an antecedent friendship. Be this as it may, when the question about Steele's expulsion was agitated in the House of Commons, Lord Finch stepped forward, and made attempts to speak in Steele's behalf; but, being embarrassed by an ingenuous modesty, and over-deference to an assembly in which he had not yet been accustomed to speak, he sat down in visible confusion, saying, so as to be over-heard, "It is strange how I can't speak for this man, though I could readily fight for him." His words being whispered from one to another, operated in an instant, like electrical fire, and a sudden burst, from all parts of the House, of "Hear him! Hear him!" with ineffable marks of encouragement, brought Lord Finch again on his legs, who, with astonishing recollection, and the utmost propriety, spoke a speech on the occasion, in which, as it was related to this writer, in the language of the theatre, "there was not a word which did not tell."—"Such was the noble motive which first produced this nobleman's natural eloquence; the force of which was charming, and irresistible when exerted in the protection of the oppressed."

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be agreeable to the manner of your setting out, to the nobility of your birth, the dignity of your own good sense, and the service of mankind in all their true interests, both religious and civil.

This address is made to you in acknowledgment of late favours to me, and to desire the continuance of your good opinion and friendship. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE,

L E T T E R CCCCXXXIII.

To a MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR,

London, May 28, 1714.

THOUGH I have had the misfortune to appear an unworthy member of your House, and am expelled accordingly from my seat in Parliament; I am not by that vote (which was more important to the people of England than I shall at this time explain) deprived of the common benefits of life, liberty, or any other enjoyment of a rational being. And I do not think I can better bestow my time, or employ these advantages, than in doing all in my power to preserve them to others as well as myself, and in asserting the right of my fellow-subjects against any thing which I apprehend to be

be an incroachment upon what they ought to enjoy as men, and what they are legally possessed of as Englishmen, or, if you will, as Britons.

This, Sir, is all the apology I shall make for addressing to you, in this public manner, my thoughts concerning the bill *, now making its way, with all convenient expedition, through your House, and the whole legislature. I shall examine this matter as well as haste will allow me, and therefore must recite as distinctly as I can what you gave me in discourse as the substance of this intended law †. . . .

When these are the melancholy prospects before our eyes; when no one of the family of Hanover, though long expected, is yet arrived in this kingdom; and when many weak people are under strange apprehensions, because the proclamation for bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land here, is put off; I say, when many things pass every day, on which Jacobites make reflections to their own advantage, and ordinary people, who cannot judge of reasons of State, put all these things together; it creates in them a chagrin and uneasiness, which will be mightily increased by the passing of a bill that may be to the mortification of the meanest persons in the Protestant cause.

* "For preventing the Growth of Schism."

† For the political part of this Letter the reader is referred to Steele's "Political Writings."

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It is therefore no time to do a thing, which will take off the hands and purses of half a million of people, as friends to the House of Hanover; half a million of people, as enemies to the Pretender.

If this Bill passes, and the Pretender should come upon our coast; I would fain know what could move a Dissenter to lift an hand, or employ a shilling against him? He has at present no hopes of preferment, and would by this bill be under daily apprehensions of the loss of the toleration as to himself, as well as being wholly bereft of it as to his posterity. He would have certainly promises from the Pretender of liberty of conscience; and he could but have those promises broken, as in this case he would have it to say they had been before, and must expect some sweetnesses at a new change for standing neuter, or exerting himself for the invader. Thus he would rather, according to his own interest, with an invader success than disappointment; add to this, some pleasure in the revengeful hope of seeing us, who had persecuted him, fall into the same calamity.

This, dear Sir, is all I have to trouble you with on this occasion; and, though you accused me of being cast down with my expulsion, you see I have not dunned you to move, that the other pamphlets may be examined as well as the *Crisis* and the *Englishman*. Give my service to

poor Tom* and Ned†. I must confess they were the last I forgave, but I have forgiven them too now. I am thoroughly convinced, since this bill, that I was not worthy : for now you have taken upon you ecclesiastical matters, and I should not have known how to behave myself among you, as a communion of Saints.

I doubt not, Sir, but your voice and excellent talents will be employed against this pernicious bill : to oppose it strenuously, will be worthy that resolution and modesty for which you are so remarkably conspicuous ; that modesty which cannot incline you to bear hard against persons or things, when you happen to be with a majority ; and that resolution which prompts you to assert what you think truth, though under the disadvantage of the most inconsiderable minority. I am, Sir, your most obedient, obliged, humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

* Thomas Harley, Esq.

† Edward Foley, Esq.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXXIV*.

To the Countess of BURLINGTON †.

MADAM,

July 21, 1714.

I HUMBLY desire your Ladyship would forgive the presumption I am now guilty of in presenting you with this book. I do it from the high honour and veneration I have for your great merit and virtue. It cannot, I know, furnish your Ladyship with new reflections; and the Ladies of whom you are the happy mother have an example before them more prevalent to form them to every thing praise-worthy than any precepts they can find in the works of the best writers. But as there is much curiosity in these papers, and great strength and force in the reasonings of them; give me leave to offer this collection for the use of female life as a testimony of the respect which I, with all who are honoured with the least acquaintance with you, must pay to your Ladyship, for the eminent example you have given the world in the important characters of a wife and a mother.

To command with the mien of making a request, to oblige with the aspect of receiving fa-

* Prefixed to the first volume of "The Ladies Library."

† Juliana, daughter and sole heiress to Henry Noel, second son of Edward Viscount Campden; she was married to Charles the second Earl of Burlington, who left her a widow in 1703-4; and was mother to Richard the third and last Earl of Burlington.

YOURS,

vours, and to win affection without other design than making all people happy who converse with her, or depend upon her, are excellencies peculiar to my Lady Burlington. But as there is a complaisance which, like sincere friendship, speaks our good opinion in our ordinary looks and actions, more than any language can do it, I here shall go no farther than just to declare myself, with great deference, among the admirers of your great goodness and virtue; and beg of your Ladyship to forgive my saying thus much, for the forbearance of saying more, on a subject of which I am so very fond, as that of expressing myself, Madam, your Ladyship's most devoted, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXXV*.

To Mrs. BOVEY †.

MADAM,

July 21, 1714.

IT is an undisputed privilege writers are possessed of, to produce examples to the precepts

* Prefixed to the second volume of "The Ladies Library."

† On a splendid monument in Westminster-abbey, under that of Lord Viscount Howe, and next to Bp. Pearce, is a bust of the Lady on a small medallion, placed between two large emblematic figures, designed by Gibbs, with the following inscription:

"To the memory of Mrs. KATHARINA BOVEY, whose person and understanding would have become the highest rank in female life, and whose vivacity would have recommended her in the best conversation; but, by judgement, as well as inclination, she

cepts they would enforce from the living characters of their contemporaries. You cannot,

she chose such a retirement as gave her great opportunities for reading and reflection, which she made use of to the wisest purposes of improvement in knowledge and religion. Upon other subjects, she ventured far out of the common way of thinking; but in religious matters, she made the Holy Scriptures, in which she was well skilled, the rule and guide of her faith and actions; esteeming it more safe to rely upon the plain Word of God, than to run into any freedoms of thought upon revealed truths. The great share of time allowed to the closet was not perceived in her economy, for she had always a well-ordered and well-instructed family; from the happy influence as well of her temper and conduct, as of her uniform and exemplary Christian life. It pleased God to bless her with a considerable estate, which, with a liberal hand, guided by wisdom and piety, she employed to his glory, and the good of her neighbours. Her domestic expences were managed with a decency and dignity suitable to her fortune, but with a frugality that made her income abound to all proper objects of charity, to the relief of the necessitous, the encouragement of the industrious, and the instruction of the ignorant. She distributed not only with cheerfulness, but with joy, which upon some occasions of raising and refreshing the spirit of the afflicted, she could not refrain from breaking forth into tears, flowing from a heart thoroughly affected with compassion and benevolence. Thus did many of her good works, while she lived, go up as a memorial before God; and some she left to follow her.

"She died January 21, 1726, in the 57th year of her age, at Flaxley, her seat in Gloucestershire, and was buried there, where her name will be long remembered, and where several of her benefactions at that place, as well as others, are more particularly recorded."

At the top of the monument are the family arms; and at the bottom these lines:

"This monument was erected with the utmost respect to her memory, and justice to her character, by her executrix, Mrs. MARY POPE, who lived with her near forty years in perfect friendship, and never once interrupted till her much lamented death."

therefore,

therefore, expect for ever to be doing laudable things, and for ever to escape applause. It is in vain, you find, that you have always concealed greater excellencies than others industriously present to view ; for the world will know that your beauty, though in the highest degree of dignity and sweetness, is but a faint image of the spirit which inhabits the amiable form which Heaven has bestowed on you. It is observed, by all who know you, that, though you have an aspect and mien which draw the attention and expectation of all who converse with you, and a wit and good sense which surmount the great conceptions your person raises in your beholders, those perfections are enjoyed by you like gifts of common acceptance ; that lovely and affable air expresses only the humility of a great and generous heart ; and the most shining accomplishments, used by others to attract vulgar admiration, are serviceable to you only as they adorn piety and charity.

Though your person and fortune equally raise the admiration and ambition of our whole sex to move your attention to their importunities ; your equal spirit entertains itself with ideas of a very different kind, and is solicitous to search for imperfections where it were the utmost injustice for any other to imagine any, and applauses only awaken you to an inquisition for errors.

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It is with this turn of mind that, instead of assemblies and conversations, books and solitude have been your choice, and you have gone on in the study of what you should be, rather than attended to the celebration of what you are. Thus, with the charms of the fairest of your own sex, and knowledge not inferior to the more learned of ours, a closet, a bower, or some beauteous scene of rural nature, has constantly robbed the world of a Lady's appearance, who never was beheld but with gladness to her visitants, nor ever admired but with pain to herself.

But a constant distribution of large charities, a search for objects of new bounty, and a skilful choice of modest merit, or suffering virtue, touch the souls of those who partake your goodness too deeply to be borne without enquiring for, and celebrating their benefactress. I should be loth to offend your tenderness in this particular; but I know, when I say this, the fatherless and the widow, the neglected man of merit, the wretch on the sick bed, in a word, the distressed under all forms, will from this hint learn to trace the kind hand which has so often, as from Heaven, conveyed to them what they have asked in the anguish of soul, when none could hear, but He who has blessed you with so ample a fortune, and given you a soul to employ it in his service.

If

If much more than what is here intimated be not the plain truth, it is impossible to come at what is so, since one can find none who speak of you, who are not in love with your person, or indebted to your fortune. I wish you, as the completion of human happiness, a long continuance of being what you are; and am, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXXVI*.

To Mrs. STEELE.

MADAM,

[1715.]

IF great obligations received are just motives for addressees of this kind, you have an unquestionable pretension to my acknowledgments, who have condescended to give me your very self. I can make no return for so inestimable a favour, but in acknowledging the generosity of the giver. To have either wealth, wit, or beauty, is generally a temptation to a woman to put an unreasonable value upon herself; but with all these, in a degree which drew upon you the addressees of men of the amplest fortunes, you bestowed your person where you could have no expectations but from the gratitude of the receiver, though you knew he could exert that

* Prefixed to the third volume of "The Ladies Library."

gratitude in no other returns but esteem and love. For which must I first thank you? for what you have denied yourself, or for what you have bestowed on me?

I owe to you, that for my sake you have overlooked the prospect of living in pomp and plenty, and I have not been circumspect enough to preserve you from care and sorrow. I will not dwell upon this particular; you are so good a wife, that I know you think I rob you of more than I can give, when I say any thing in your favour to my own disadvantage.

Whoever should see, or hear you, would think it were worth leaving all the world for you; while I, habitually possessed of that happiness, have been throwing away impotent endeavours for the rest of mankind, to the neglect of her for whom any other man, in his senses, would be apt to sacrifice every thing else.

I know not by what unreasonable prepossession it is, but methinks there must be something austere to give authority to wisdom; and I cannot account for having only raillied many reasonable sentiments of yours, but that you are too beautiful to appear judicious.

One may grow fond, but not wise, from what is said by so lovely a counsellor. Hard fate, that you have been lessened by your perfections, and lost power by your charms!

That

That ingenuous spirit in all your behaviour, that familiar grace in your words and actions, has for this seven years only inspired admiration and love; but experience has taught me, the best counsel I ever have received has been pronounced by the fairest and softest lips, and convinced me that I am in you blest with a wise friend, as well as a charming mistress*.

Your mind shall no longer suffer by your person; nor shall your eyes, for the future, dazzle me into a blindness towards your understanding. I rejoice in this public occasion to shew my esteem for you; and must do you the justice to say, that there can be no virtue represented in all this Collection for the female world, which I have not known you exert, as far as the op-

* See above, p. 276.—Swift, speaking of Steele, in his Journal to Stella, says, “We have scurvy *Tailors* of late: so pray do not suspect me. I have one or two hints I design to send him, and never any more: he does not deserve it. He is governed by his wife most abominably, as bad as —. I never saw her since I came; nor has he ever made me an invitation; either he dares not, or is such a thoughtless *Tisdall* fellow, that he never minds it.” Swift, Journal to Stella, Nov. 3, 1710.—“Yes, Steele was a little while in prison, or at least in a spunging-house, some time before I came, but not since.” Ibid. Dec. 14, 1710.—“Steele was arrested the other day for making a lottery, directly against an act of parliament. He is now under prosecution; but they think it will be dropped out of pity. I believe he will very soon lose his employment, for he has been mighty impertinent of late in his *Spectators*; and I will never offer a word in his behalf.”—Ibid. July 1, 1712. And see what has been already quoted in p. 361; and a note on the new ed. of TAT. vol. VI. N^o 228, p. 95, & seq.

portunities of your fortune have given you leave. Forgive me, that my heart overflows with love and gratitude for daily instances of your prudent œconomy, the just disposition you make of your little affairs, your chearfulness in dispatch of them, your prudent forbearance of any reflections that they might have needed less vigilance had you disposed of your fortune suitably ; in short, for all the arguments you every day give me of a generous and sincere affection.

It is impossible for me to look back on many evils and pains which I have suffered since we came together, without a pleasure which is not to be expressed, from the proofs I have had, in those circumstances, of your unwearied goodness. How often has your tenderness removed pain from my sick head ! how often anguish from my afflicted heart ! With how skilful patience have I known you comply with the vain projects which pain has suggested, to have an aching limb removed by journeying from one side of a room to another ! how often, the next instant, travelled the same ground again, without telling your patient it was to no purpose to change his situation ! If there are such beings as guardian angels, thus are they employed. I will no more believe one of them more good in its inclinations, than I can conceive it more charming in its form, than my wife,

But

But I offend, and forget that what I say to you is to appear in public. You are so great a lover of home, that I know it will be irksome to you to go into the world even in an applause. I will end this without so much as mentioning your little flock, or your own amiable figure at the head of it. That I think them preferable to all other children, I know is the effect of passion and instinct; that I believe you the best of wives, I know proceeds from experience and reason. I am, Madam, your most obliged husband, and most obedient humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXXVII*.

From Mr. ROYSTON MEREDITH.

SIR,

Oct. 21, 1714.

IF I mistake not, you are the gentleman who, of late, has been so great a stickler for the liberty, rights, and properties of the subject;

* This and the three following letters were originally published in 1714, in a pamphlet, intitled, "Mr. Steele detected: or, the poor and oppressed Orphan's Letters to the great and arbitrary Mr. Steele; complaining of the great Injustice done to the Public in general, and to himself in particular, by the Ladies Library, published by Mr. Steele; together with Mr. Steele's Answers, and some just Reflections on them." The integrity of Steele, whatever other failings he may have had, will overbalance the harsh obloquy of an exasperated adversary.

but it seems can (for a little dirty money, which you spend as vainly as you get * idly,) invade those of your fellow-subjects, and that knowingly, wilfully, and premeditatedly; I said knowingly, in that you have not received so little copy-money† as to be ignorant of the right and property every bookseller hath to his copies; which you well know to be the same with that a gentleman has to his estate. I say wilfully and premeditatedly, because, after such knowledge, you still persist in your unjust practices. And, to yet aggravate and enhance your guilt, you have (as it were) ploughed the lands of two poor orphans, who have very little else to subsist on; a sin which will cry aloud for vengeance. These lines, how mean soever they be, are my own; which is more than you can, or dare (if you have any honesty or modesty left) say of "The Ladies Library;" wherein you have so greatly injured Royston Meredith, servant to ‡ in , where I expect and demand a speedy and satisfactory answer. Sir, before you had collected so many and whole sections out of Bishop Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," (which, be pleased to take notice, is my copy,) you would

* By other men's labour. R. M.

† And that for others writings too. R. M.

‡ These letters are exactly the same with those sent to Mr. Steele, except leaving out my master's name and place of abode, which, for some reasons, is thought proper to be omitted. R. M.
have

have acted very prudently seriously to have perused that of "Restitution," where you might have read these words: "Better it is to go begging to Heaven, than to go to Hell laden with the spoils of rapine and injustice."

To conclude: till, by some means or other, you make compensation for the damage which I have and shall sustain from that book, I must and will write myself, the highly injured

ROYSTON MEREDITH.

LETTER CCCCXXXVIII.

To Mr. MEREDITH.

SIR,

Oct. 21, 1714.

I WILL enquire into what you write about, and write again about the subject of yours to, Sir, your most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER CCCCXXXIX.

From Mr. MEREDITH.

SIR,

Oct. 25, 1714.

THESE come to claim your promise of an answer to my former, which, with great impatience, has been expected; but not having yet received any, gives me just reason to conclude

clude that you have been consulting with the great Mr. Tonson *, from whom (when I demanded satisfaction) this answer was given me: "How that he paid copy-money, and that I must apply myself to the author for redress." My reply to him was, "That the law should then decide it." To which Mr. Tonson had the assurance to say, "It was better to be doing than talking;" which words I conceive to imply an open defiance to me, notwithstanding he cannot be ignorant how that the Common Law, the High Court of Chancery, and even a late Act of Parliament, "For securing the Right and Property of Booksellers to their Copies," will all plead in my behalf. But perhaps Mr. Tonson may imagine, that a poor orphan, and one whom he may (falsely) think destitute of friends, will never be able to cope with so potent an adversary as himself; but be pleased, Sir, to inform him, that it is my resolution (without ample satisfaction given me) to maintain my right, and have recourse to the law for justice. To these an immediate answer is expected; otherwise the publick shall be apprised of the great injustice done to them in general, and in particular to the poor and oppressed orphan,

ROYSTON MEREDITH.

* Mr. Steele's bookseller in ordinary. R. M.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXL.

To Mr. MEREDITH.

SIR, St. James's-street, Oct. 26, 1714.

I HAVE a second letter from you. The style of the first was very harsh to one whom you are not at all acquainted with; but there were suggestions in it which might give excuse for being out of humour at one whom you might perhaps think was the occasion of damage to you. You mentioned also an orphan, which word was a defence against any warm reply; but, since you are pleased to go on in an intemperate way of talk, I shall give myself no more trouble to enquire about what you complain, but rest satisfied in doing all the good offices I can to the Reverend Author's Grandchild, now in town. Thus, leaving you to contend about your title to his writings, and wishing you success, if you have justice on your side, I beg you will give me no more ill language, and you will oblige, Sir, your humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXLI*.

TO WILLIAM HONEYCOMB, Esq.†.

THE seven former volumes of the *SPECTATOR* having been dedicated to some of the most celebrated persons of the age, I take leave to inscribe this eighth and last to you, as to a gentleman who hath ever been ambitious of appearing in the best company.

You are not wholly retired from the busy part of mankind, and at leisure to reflect upon your past achievements; for which reason I look upon you as a person very well qualified for a dedication.

I may possibly disappoint my readers, and yourself too, if I do not endeavour, on this occasion, to make the world acquainted with your virtues. And here, Sir, I shall not compliment you upon your birth, person, or fortune; nor any other the like perfections, which you possess whether you will or no: but shall only touch upon those which are of your own acquiring, and in which every one must allow you have a real merit.

Your janty air and easy motion, the volubility of your discourse, the suddenness of your

* This dedication, prefixed to the eighth volume of "The Spectator," is suspected to have been written by Eustace Budgell.

† Generally supposed to be Col. Cleland. See p. 114.

laugh,

laugh, the management of your snuff-box, with the whiteness of your hands and teeth (which have justly gained you the envy of the most polite part of the male world, and the love of the greatest beauties in the female), are entirely to be ascribed to your own personal genius and application.

You are formed for these accomplishments by a happy turn of nature, and have finished yourself in them by the utmost improvements of art. A man that is defective in either of these qualifications (whatever may be the secret ambition of his heart) must never hope to make the figure you have done, among the fashionable part of his species. It is therefore no wonder we see such multitudes of aspiring young men fall short of you in all these beauties of your character, notwithstanding the study and practice of them is the whole business of their lives. But I need not tell you that the free and disengaged behaviour of a fine gentleman makes as many awkward beaux, as the easiness of your favourite hath made insipid poets.

At present you are content to aim all your charms at your own spouse, without farther thought of mischief to any others of the sex. I know you had formerly a very great contempt for that pedantic race of mortals who call themselves Philosophers; and yet, to your honour be it spoken, there is not a Sage of them all
could

could have better acted up to their precepts in one of the most important points of life : I mean, in that generous disregard of popular opinion which you shewed some years ago, when you chose for your wife an obscure young woman, who doth not indeed pretend to an ancient family, but has certainly as many forefathers as any lady in the land, if she could but reckon up their names.

I must own, I conceived very extraordinary hopes of you from the moment that you confessed your age, and from eight-and-forty (where you had stuck so many years) very ingeniously stepped into your grand climacterick. Your deportment has since been very venerable and becoming. If I am rightly informed, you make a regular appearance every quarter-sessions among your brothers of the *quorum* ; and, if things go on as they do, stand fair for being a colonel of the militia. I am told that your time passes away as agreeably in the amusements of a country life, as it ever did in the gallantries of the town ; and that you now take as much pleasure in the planting of young trees, as you did formerly in the cutting down of your old ones. In short, we hear from all hands that you are thoroughly reconciled to your dirty acres, and have not too much wit to look into your own estate.

After having spoken thus much of my Patron,

tron, I must take the privilege of an Author in saying something of myself. I shall therefore beg leave to add, that I have purposely omitted setting those marks to the end of every paper, which appeared in my former volumes, that you may have an opportunity of shewing Mrs. Honeycomb the shrewdness of your conjectures, by ascribing every speculation to its proper author: though you know how often many profound Criticks in style and sentiments have very judiciously erred in this particular, before they were let into the secret. I am, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant, THE SPECTATOR.

LETTER CCCCLII*.

To Mr. WALPOLE †.

SIR,

[1715.]

WHOEVER reads the following Apology will easily allow me, that I am much less

* Prefixed to Steele's "Apology for himself and his Writings, 1715."

† Robert Walpole, esq. born Aug. 26, 1674, was chosen member for King's-Lynn in 1700; and continued to represent that corporation till created an Earl; excepting the interval of one session, when he was expelled the House (Dec. 30, 1711), and sent to the Tower. He was appointed of the council to Prince George, Lord High Admiral, in June, 1705; Secretary at War, Feb. 12, 1707-8; Treasurer of the Navy, Jan. 13, 1709-10. On Dr. Sacheverell's impeachment, Mr. Walpole was one of the managers. He was removed from his employments in August

less concerned for the fame of a writer than that of an honest man. I have declared the assistances I had in composing the writings which are here defended; for the upright purpose, the innocent intention of them, is all which I am anxious to assert. In defence of truth I incurred popular hatred and contempt, with the prospect of suffering the want even of the ordinary conveniencies of life. The probability of

gust 1710; and was not in any office during the rest of the Queen's reign. He was appointed Paymaster of the Forces Sept. 24, 1714; and sworn of the Privy Council Oct. 1; constituted First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer Oct. 10, 1715; and the same year was elected Chairman of "the Committee of Secrecy." He resigned his high places April 10, 1717; but was appointed Paymaster of the Forces June 4, 1720; and resumed his offices in the Treasury April 4, 1721. He was one of the Lords Justices and sole Secretary of State in 1723, during the absence of the Lords Townsend and Carteret, who went with the King to Hanover. He was elected a Knight of the Bath in 1725, and was again one of the Lords Justices; was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1726, and installed June 16. He was a third time one of the Lords Justices, in 1727. On the accession of King George II. he was continued in all his high posts; was chosen a Governor of the Charter-house, and attended at the coronation as a Privy Counsellor and Knight of the Garter. In the first session of the Parliament which met Dec. 4, 1741, finding a strong party against him in the nation as well as in the parliament, he resigned all his places, and was created, Feb. 9, 1741-2, Baron Houghton, Viscount Walpole, and Earl of Orford. He afterwards, the inquiry into his conduct being dropt, or rather suspended, lived a very retired life, enjoying rest from his labours, the sweets of private friendship, and the esteem and love of his Sovereign; but was much afflicted with the stone, which at length put a period to his life, March 18, 1745-6, in his 72d year.

being

being undone I could not but form to myself when I took upon me what I did ; but a weight heavier than all this fell upon me, to wit, a resolution of the representative of my country to my dishonour. This indeed was a blow unexpected ; nor could it enter into my imagination, that the insolence of any minister could run so high, as to demand of the House of Commons to punish one of its members for being unacceptable to him. The perusal of this pamphlet will convince the reader, there was not so much as the appearance of any other motive for my expulsion. The day of debate was indeed a very memorable one, and the persons concerned in it hugely worth suspending the councils of a nation. It was remarkable however, that such was the force of truth, that the member accused had not an harsh personal expression used against him ; and the minister, in the midst of all his power, who brought on the accusation, was treated in the manner which all mankind knows he deserves. As for my part, I ever thought meanly of the capacity, though not, till lately, of the good-nature of that demagogue, and saw very well his audaciousness would one day suffer by his ignorance. It was visible, whatever became of his country, which I believe had little share in his Lordship's cares, he would, with the wand in his hand, raise powers which he would want skill to command, and which consequently would tear him himself in pieces.

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But,

But, without dwelling upon the contemplation of mischiefs wrought by a cunning wicked creature, placed in a station proper only for a wise and virtuous man, I am now to give you my thanks for your generous defence of me in this great adversity. Your behaviour was indeed equally noble during the whole French administration, and your eloquence was of public service to your country, when the Prerogative was strained to the utmost, not to exalt our own Sovereign, but to compliment France with the greatness and interest of her, and her people. The intervention of Providence has given us a stand against the imminent destruction which such iniquity and folly had placed before our eyes, and men in great employments can now be safe without depending upon France.

I have mentioned Dunkirk till I am sick; and there are not words to represent the infamous behaviour in a Ministry, to cover so great and pernicious an imposture upon their country, as the improvement of that port under the presence of the demolition of it.

You have the honour and happiness to have eminently opposed all the incursions which these guilty men made upon the greatness of the Crown, and the welfare of the subject, by prostituting them both to their own selfish designs, and destroying, as far as in them lay, the good name of all men of virtue and service.

They

They have indeed reaped this good, that there can be nothing said of themselves, the worst servants that ever Sovereign employed, but what they had caused to be laid to the charge of those who were their predecessors; persons whose abilities had raised their country to such a grandeur, that nothing but the unnatural industry of her own ministers could lower, to the helpless condition to which they had reduced it.

These evils could not have been supported, had not the demagogues, by the abuse of power, deafened many in the Legislature against attention to the true interest of themselves and their country; while an inconsiderable creature, who had the good-will of no man, could manage averfions skilfully enough, to be suffered to destroy all, for fear of an alteration of affairs that might be grateful to an opposite party.

Were the following instance of the harsh and odious disposition in gentlemen to sit determined, before hearing, the concern only of me and mine, it would not be worth troubling the world with so many words on the occasion; but neither what I now write, nor what you much better spoke, is a case of so little consequence; and when you undertook it, you knew you were pleading for the rights and liberties of the Commons of England; and I will take upon me to say, that there never was a greater insult on the constitution than this, except one practised by

the same person, without the least deference to the order of things, the common sense of mankind, the honour of the Crown, or the property of the subject.

It needs not be said what this greater impudence was, nor who had so little grace as to be guilty of it: it was he who was born in our days for the chastisement and dishonour of them, a tool whose insignificance makes sorrow, occasioned by him, the subject of laughter, takes all dignity from distress, and renders calamity ridiculous.

As to my own part under the fantastical tyranny of the demagogue's administration, could what you said in the House be communicated to the publick, I should have no need of this defence; but since I have not here the assistance of your eloquence, I beg the advantage of your name and character: for I know it will be an argument with every honest man that my cause was good, that you so zealously espoused it; for that admirable talent of speaking, of which you are master, has never been prostituted to serve dishonest purposes; and you have too candid a spirit, not to esteem it a praise, rather than disparagement of your eloquence, that the cause for which you have at any time pleaded needed no art but from the iniquity of its opposers.

The happy ability of explaining the most difficult parts of business to men wholly unacquainted

acquainted with negotiation, has been as useful to the publick as honourable to yourself. As you have detected the artful, so you have helped the ignorant of your very adversaries, according to their intention to abuse or serve their country.

It has been said, that the greatest art is to hide art; but you have a much better instrument towards persuasion, the having nothing to conceal; for truth is as certainly the greatest eloquence, as honesty is the best policy. Let those who speak or act against their conscience, obtain their little purposes and applauses; be it ever your commendation, to despise artifice, and practise uprightness. A long course of suffering for your zeal in an honest cause, has gained you the character of an open honest English gentleman, with a capacity which takes off the imputation of weakness from simplicity of manners, and adds the dignity of knowledge to the beauty of innocence.

As I never entered into political debates with ambitious views, but have brought my desires within the necessaries and decent conveniencies of life, I am the more jealously tenacious of the little I expect of the world; which is, only to accept of my service to the best of my ability, without loading me with unjust reproach. In this reasonable expectation Mr. Walpole generously lent me his protection; and though he could not persuade my judges to do me justice,

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he convinced them I deserved a different sentence from what they pronounced. But, alas! they had learned, by long practice, to do shameful things without being ashamed; and though your arguments could command their assent, it could not make them utter it in my favour. You sent them away, I thank you, with the same thoughts of themselves which you had of them; and whatever force and oppression determined, in the eye of reason and conscience the judges were convict, and the accused man found innocent.

I humbly thank you for your eminent part in this affair, and congratulate you on receiving the favour of your Prince * for your service to your country.

As doing good to the publick is the motive of conferring favours, it is, with such as you, the rule in enjoying them. I wish you the possession of all your frank heart desires; and am, with great respect, Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE,

* Mr. Walpole was at that time Paymaster of the Forces, and a Privy Counsellor. See p. 432.

ADDRESS

CCCCXLIII.

ADDRESS TO THE KING*.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare, Lord Lieutenant, and the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Middlesex, and City and Liberty of Westminster.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants of the county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster, beg leave, upon our first public meeting, to congratulate your Majesty upon your safe and peaceable accession to your undoubted right. We receive the invaluable blessing with all the proper sentiments of undisssembled joy, affection, and zeal.

* "April 7, 1715, the Deputy Lieutenants for the county of Middlesex, and city and liberty of Westminster, gave a most magnificent and splendid entertainment to the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare, their Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Viscount Townshend, General Stanhope, the Earl of Lincoln, and several other persons of distinction. At this meeting the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants agreed upon an address drawn up by Richard Steele, Esquire, one of their body; which, the next day, the Earl of Clare, at the head of his Deputy Lieutenants, being introduced by the Lord Viscount Townshend, presented to his Majesty. His Majesty, as a mark of his special favour, was pleased, on this occasion, to bestow the honour of knighthood on three of the deputy lieutenants, *viz*, Robert Thornhill, Richard Steele, and George Cooke, Esquires." Political State, vol. IX. p. 273.

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Our

Our joy is the joy of men whose past fears heighten their present satisfaction : fears which have no other proof that they were imaginary, but that Providence hath been much more merciful to us than we could in reason expect.

The liberty and happiness of mankind was the glorious cause, and the glorious end, of that Revolution which transmitted to us our present security : a transaction which, since your Majesty's accession to the crown, shines with redoubled lustre, and bears upon it such characters of glory as they, who have not hitherto been able or willing to see, cannot escape enjoying in its influences upon the public welfare.

This happiness appears confirmed to us when we behold a British parliament once more anxious for the British honour, equally disposed to enquire into the behaviour of those who diminished it, and to rescue the injured reputation of the illustrious men by whose councils and actions it was once raised to the highest pitch of greatness.

From these concurring circumstances we assure ourselves, that the time is now come, wherein integrity and uprightness shall no longer be distinguished from true policy ; wherein cunning shall no longer pass for wisdom, nor deceitfulness for prudence ; but the measures of a wise, just, beneficent, and steady administration, shall establish the prosperity of these realms, by a
strict

strict alliance with those powers, the abandoning of whom has so manifestly appeared fatal to them and ourselves.

On this occasion permit us further to congratulate your Majesty, in that we cannot but daily observe numbers of your Majesty's subjects act according to their real sentiments, and to extricate themselves from the ill impressions under which they were misled by artful men, to make choice of such as favoured designs destructive of the liberties of that very constitution which they were elected to preserve and defend.

As for us, whom your Majesty has entrusted with the militia of this county, we solemnly promise, that we will faithfully execute the trust reposed in us; that we will be so far from encouraging or conniving at any of those riots and disorders which your Majesty has justly complained of, as the reproach of some late years, that no endeavours, on our part, shall be wanting, to prevent and suppress the least tendency to any commotion.

We flatter ourselves that our latest posterity shall enjoy those blessings we now do in your Majesty's reign, from the eminent virtues of the Prince of Wales, and the pleasing prospect of his numerous issue: which that they may do, are the sincere prayers of your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects.

[To

[To which his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:]

“I thank you for your very loyal and dutiful address.”

LETTER CCCCXLIV*.

To the Earl of CLARE†.

MY LORD,

[1715].

THE following papers were written to confront daring and wicked men in the prosecution of purposes destructive to their country. The honest intention of them was what first recommended me to your Lordship's friendship, and I hope you will forgive me that I cannot

* Prefixed to Steele's "Political Writings, 1715."

† Thomas Lord Pelham, the adopted heir to his uncle John, Duke of Newcastle, was born Aug. 1, 1693; became Baron Pelham, Feb. 23, 1711-12; was created Earl of Clare, and Viscount Houghton, Oct. 26, 1714; made Custos Rotulorum of the county of Middlesex, Nov. 10, and of Westminster, Dec. 28, 1714; and the same year Steward of Sherwood Forest; created Marquis and Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne, Aug. 2, 1715; elected a Knight of the Garter, July 22, 1718. On resigning the post of Lord Chamberlain, April 2, 1724, he was appointed Secretary of State; chosen Recorder of Nottingham in April, 1726; High Steward of Cambridge in July, 1737; Chancellor of that university, 1749; First Lord of the Treasury, on the death of his brother, 1754, a post which he held with a small interval until the year 1762, when he resigned it; was created Duke of Newcastle under Line, Nov. 13, 1756; appointed Lord Privy Seal, July 15, 1765, but continued so only about one year. He died Nov. 17, 1768.

conceal

conceal a circumstance so advantageous to the fame of them as that of your Lordship's approbation.

The painful struggle under so great a difficulty, as explaining with a ministry in open contradiction to their proceedings, is what can be supported by nothing less than the testimony of a good conscience, and an heart pure from a vicious ambition. And these are such supports as will keep a man from languishing in discontent, should he, amidst the prosperities of the cause he has endeavoured to serve, live to find zeal for the publick, of all human virtues, the most exposed to the cool comfort of being its own reward; and that which was undertaken against the inclinations to mirth and pleasure, out of a sense of duty and honour, to have little other effect than to become a man's characteristick, and by that means to give a turbulent air to all his other pretensions, and even to sink the agreeableness of the friend and companion, by the appearance of somewhat supposed to be demanding in the patriot.

But why do I mention these things here? All the world is witness, that it hath been your Lordship's early inclination to find out and encourage the lovers of your country, to comfort them under the neglect of their friends, and support them against the resentment of their enemies.

Your Lordship is produced by Providence, in an ample and flowing fortune, to make a stand for honesty, and to preserve the names of virtue and honour from oblivion. Whoever has exerted himself for the publick, has at your house a friend and a benefactor : distinctions are there made by the rule of reason and justice ; a young and noble heart, generously disposed by Nature, and fortified by letters, can determine, in spite of prevailing fashion to the contrary, that good and evil are really distinct considerations, and that “ to distinguish virtuous men is the best “ knowledge of the world.”

I could give a thousand instances of your Lordship's great humanity this way, and of your having attained in your first years to be “ the terror of ill, and the refuge of good men.” What can fondness itself wish more for a man, than to have wealth, and the best sense in the use of it ; than to be elegantly delightful, artlessly eloquent, discreetly sincere, and judiciously bountiful ? Your Lordship will be transmitted to futurity by the professors of those liberal arts you protect and encourage. The present I now make you can give me no opportunity to endeavour that way. But, as these occasional writings are arguments against the incursions made upon our liberty, and written even when those innovations were first attempted ; I humbly desire your Lordship's protection
to

to them and their author, who is, with the utmost integrity, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCXLV*.

To Sir SAMUEL GARTH†.

SIR,

[1715].

AS soon as I thought of making the **LOVER** a present to one of my friends, I resolved, without farther distracting my choice, to send it **TO THE BEST-NATURED MAN**. You are so universally known for this character, that an epistle so directed would find its way to you without your name, and I believe nobody but you yourself would deliver such a superscription to any other person.

* Prefixed to an edition of "The Lover and Reader," in 12mo, 1715.

† Dr. Samuel Garth, the celebrated author of "The Dispensary."—The first edition of this admirable poem came out in 1694; and went through three impressions in a few months. This extraordinary encouragement put him upon making several improvements in it; and in 1706 he published a fourth edition, with several additions. Major Pack observes, that "The Dispensary had lost and gained in every edition; almost every thing that Sir Samuel left out being a robbery from the publick, whilst every thing that he added was an embellishment to his poem." On the accession of King George I. he had the honour of being knighted with the Duke of Marlborough's sword. He died Jan. 18, 1718-19.

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This propensity is the nearest a kin to love ; and good-nature is the worthiest affection of the mind, as love is the noblest passion of it : while the latter is wholly employed in endeavouring to make happy one single object, the other diffuses its benevolence to all the world.

As this is your natural bent, I cannot but congratulate to you the singular felicity that your profession is so agreeable to your temper. For what condition is more desirable than a constant impulse to relieve the distressed, and a capacity to administer that relief ? When the sick man hangs his eye on that of his physician, how pleasing must it be to speak comfort to his anguish, to raise in him the first motions of hope, to lead him into a persuasion that he shall return to the company of his friends, the care of his family, and all the blessings of being ?

The manner in which you practise this heavenly faculty of aiding human life, is according to the liberality of science, and demonstrates that your heart is more set upon doing good than growing rich.

The pitiful artifices which empiricks are guilty of to drain cash out of valetudinarians, are the abhorrence of your generous mind ; and it is as common with GARTH to supply indigent patients with money for food, as to receive it from wealthy ones for physick. How much more amiable, Sir, would the generosity which is already

ready applauded by all that know you, appear to those whose gratitude you every day refuse, if they knew that you resist their presents lest you should supply those whose wants you know, by taking from those with whose necessities you are unacquainted?

The families you frequent receive you as their friend and well-wisher, whose concern, in their behalf, is as great as that of those who are related to them by the ties of blood and the sanctions of affinity. This tenderness interrupts the satisfactions of conversation, to which you are so happily turned; but we forgive you that our mirth is often insipid to you, while you sit absent to what passes amongst us from your care of such as languish in sickness. We are sensible their distresses, instead of being removed by company, return more strongly to your imagination by comparison of their condition to the jollities of health.

But I forget I am writing a dedication; and in an address of this kind, it is more usual to celebrate men's great talents, than those virtues to which such talents ought to be subservient; yet where the bent of a man's spirit is taken up in the application of his whole force to serve the world in his profession, it would be frivolous not to entertain him rather with thanks for what he is, than applauses for what he is capable of being. Besides, Sir, there is no room for saying

ing any thing to you, as you are a man of wit, and a great poet; all that can be spoken that is worthy an ingenuous spirit, in the celebration of such faculties, has been incomparably said by yourself to others, or by others to you: you have never been excelled in this kind but by those who have written in praise of you: I will not pretend to be your rival even with such an advantage over you; but, assuring you, in Mr. Codrington's words *, that I do not know whether my love or admiration is greater, I remain, Sir, your most faithful friend, and most obliged, humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE:

CCCCXLVI.

ORIGINAL PREFACE † to "The Drummer," 1715.

HAVING recommended this Play to the town, and delivered the copy of it to the bookseller, I think myself obliged to give some account of it.

It had been some years in the hands of the author; and, falling under my perusal, I thought so well of it, that I persuaded him to make some additions and alterations to it, and let it appear

* "Thou hast no faults, or I no faults can spy:

"Thou art all beauty, or all blindness I."

CODRINGTON to Dr. Garth, before *The Dispensary*.

† See hereafter, N^o CCCCLV.

upon

upon the stage. I own I was very highly pleased with it, and liked it the better for the want of those studied families and repartees which we, who have writ before him, have thrown into our plays, to indulge and gain upon a false taste that has prevailed for many years in the British theatre. I believe the author would have condescended to fall into this way a little more than he has, had he, before the writing of it, been often present at theatrical representations. I was confirmed in my thoughts of the play, by the opinion of better judges to whom it was communicated, who observed, that the scenes were drawn after Moliere's manner, and that an easy and natural vein of humour ran through the whole.

I do not question but the reader will discover this, and see many beauties that escaped the audience; the touches being too delicate for every taste in a popular assembly. My brother-sharers were of opinion, at the first reading of it, that it was like a picture in which the strokes were not strong enough to appear at a distance. As it is not in the common way of writing, the approbation was at first doubtful, but has risen every time it has been acted, and has given an opportunity in several of its parts for as just and good action as ever I saw on the stage.

The reader will consider that I speak here, not *as the author*, but as the *patentee*. Which

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is, perhaps, the reason why I am not diffuse in the praises of the Play, lest I should seem like a man who cries up his own wares only to draw in customers.

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCXLVII.

To Mr. HUGHES.

DEAR SIR, St. James's-street, Jan. 8, 1715-16*.

A PAPER, called "The Town-talk †," is particularly designed to be helpful to the stage. If you have not sent the mask ‡, which is to come out on Thursday, to press, if you please to send me the copy, it shall be recommended to the town, and published on Thursday night with that paper. Your affectionate, friend, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

CCCCXLVIII.

PREFACE to "The Englishman," vol. II.

THE former volume of *The Englishman* was written with a direct intention to destroy

* Steele was at this time member for Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. D.

† Neither this, nor "The Theatre," nor "The Spinster," (all by the same hand), have been collected into volumes. D.

‡ "Apollo and Daphne," a masque by Mr. Hughes, set to music by Dr. Pepusch. See it in his "Poems," vol. II. p. 167. D.

the credit, and frustrate the designs, of wicked men, at that time in power.

To insinuate that there are evil purposes in the ministers of one's country, is, in itself, a seditious and unwarrantable practice; but the apparent tendency of the proceedings in the late times justified the disrespect with which the officers of the state were then treated.

That volume alarmed mankind against their designs; and this lays together facts which must convince all the world of the methods they had taken to accomplish them.

It is incumbent upon one, who had treated them so frankly when they were only suspected, to make good what he seemed to accuse them of, now their actions are brought to light.

There needs no apology for the liberty taken with their characters upon so good a foundation as the Report of a Committee of the House of Commons.

It is no matter to the author of *The Englishman*, whether they are ever punished for what they have done, according to their deserts. He has done all he could to make them live in infamy, and, after that, he cares not how long they live.

But our Author's behaviour upon some late circumstances has been thought inconsistent with this spirit; and it has appeared unaccountable, that he who was thus violent against the parricides,

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cides,

cides, discovered, in a certain place, inclination to lenity towards the rebels *.

For very many reasons that matter is not to be resumed here ; but, granting that he had declared for mercy, it might possibly be, that his heart failed against submissive criminals, though he has appeared determinate against triumphant wickedness. It ordinarily happens that the same men who make an attack very bravely upon troops in good order, do least execution upon them when they are put to flight, or ask quarter. But I never heard it said, that they were the less zealous for the cause, or that they were held deserters from the service, because they have been over-run, in pursuing a defeat, by their friends, who were in the rear at the onset.

* STEELE was wont to express himself with smartness against the errors of men, without bitterness towards their persons. Mr. Whiston, a zealous Christian *sui generis*, in his "Memoirs," 2d edit. 1753, 2 vols. p. 257, & *seq.* with little judgement, and less gratitude, reproaches STEELE, who was one of his most active benefactors, with *inconsistency*, for writing in "The Theatre" against the South Sea scheme, when it portended the mischiefs of which it was pregnant, and speaking in the House of Commons in recommendation of lenity to *the Directors*, after the mischiefs were produced ; as if, forsooth, there was any incongruity between expressing detestation at a crime, and exercising humanity to a criminal. See TATLER, with Notes, vol. VI. N^o 251, p. 286, &c. It seems, Sir Richard was in like manner reproached for advising lenity to the rebels of 1715, after the rebellion was entirely suppressed ; though, ill pleased with the tameness of Addison's "Freeholder," he is reported to have said, that "Government had made choice of a *late* on an occasion when they ought to have made use of a *trumpet*."

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXLIX.

From the EDITOR of "A Lady's Travels * into
"Spain," 1716, to Sir RICHARD STEELE.

SIR,

[1716.]

THE reputation you have obtained in the world for learning, wit, good sense, and a general knowledge of mankind, very much exposes you to addresses of this nature.

I should hardly presume to press in with this little work, amongst the many who seek to shadow their labours under your patronage, but that I think the ingenious productions of the fair sex have a particular claim to it. You shew, in several of your writings, a special regard to the improvement of that sex in the politer part of knowledge, by endeavouring to rescue them from the prejudices of a narrow education, and to enlarge their notions of things. The example this lady affords them of wit, judgement, and capacity, may excite the emulation of some, and concur with your motives to answer that end. This reason, together with the assurances I have of your readiness to encourage such works as have a tendency to inform the judgements, or improve any of the virtues of mankind, makes

* This entertaining little work, written originally by Madam Daunois, passed through many editions before this Dedication was prefixed to it, and has also been since then frequently reprinted. It was one of the first books that gave any true account of Spain.

me flatter myself you will give shelter to a new edition of this. I need not say much as to the judicious performance of it; you will easily perceive the observations she has made upon the humours of the Spaniard to be very just; the dress she has put them in, elegant and neat; and her expression familiar, easy, and clear.

The former impressions of this book have been very well received in the world; and I doubt not but this will meet with a better reception than any yet have done, by coming into it under your protection. Whatever you espouse comes sufficiently recommended, and, with those that know you, will be taken for a convincing argument of its own merit. I cannot persuade myself silently to pass over one motive which swayed very much with me to make you this address; and that is, a desire I have long entertained for an opportunity to declare the veneration and esteem I have for you as a gentleman, a scholar, and a patriot. The two first characters you enjoy undisturbed; and, to make good the last, you have the applauses of all true Britons, for the vigorous efforts you made against the late attacks upon the liberties of your country, by exposing the false reasonings of those men, who would have deluded us into a fatal security, till Popery and tyranny had come down upon us like a mighty torrent, and overwhelmed us. I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

L E T T E R

LETTER CCCCL*.

From Mrs. MANLEY † to Sir RICHARD STEELE.

WHEN men cast their eyes upon epistles of this kind, from the name of the person

* Prefixed to "Lucius, a Tragedy, 1717;" being the dedication already referred to in p. 275.

† Daughter of Sir Robert Manley, a zealous Royalist. Early in life she was cheated into marriage with a near relation, of her own name, who had at the same time a former wife living. Deserted by her husband, she was patronised by the Dukes of Cleveland, who growing tired of Mrs. Manley in six months, discharged her, on pretence that she intrigued with her son. Retiring into solitude, she wrote her first Tragedy, "The Royal Mischief." This play being acted in 1696, with great success, she received such unbounded incense from admirers, that her apartment was crowded with men of wit and gaiety, which, in the end, proved fatal to her virtue. In the same year she also published "The lost Lover, or, jealous Husband," a Comedy. In her retired hours she wrote "The Atalantis;" for which, she having made free in it with several characters, her printer was apprehended, by a warrant from the Secretary's office. Mrs. Manley, unwilling an innocent person should suffer, presented herself before the Court of King's Bench as the author. Lord Sunderland, then Secretary of State, being curious to know from whom she got information of several particulars which were supposed above her own intelligence, she replied, with great humility, "that she had no design in writing further than her own amusement and diversion in the country, without intending particular reflections and characters; and did assure them, that nobody was concerned with her." When this was not believed, and the contrary urged against her by several circumstances, she said, "then it must be by inspiration; because, knowing her own innocence, she could account for it no other way." Whether those in power were ashamed to bring a woman to trial for a few amorous trifles, or whether (her characters being under feigned

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names)

son who makes the address, and of him who receives it, they usually have reason to expect applauses

names) the laws did not actually reach her, she was discharged after several public examinations. On the change of the Ministry she lived in reputation and gaiety, and amused herself in writing Poems and Letters, and conversing with the Wits. A second edition of a volume of her Letters was published in 1713. "Lucius," a well-received Tragedy, was written by her, and acted in 1717. It was dedicated, as above, to Sir R. Steele, who was then on such friendly terms with her, that he wrote the prologue to this play, as Mr. Prior did the epilogue. She died July 12, 1724.—The welfare of society being not at all affected by the misdeeds of those who have acquired any degree of eminence being known; on the contrary, when it is seen that, in spite of considerable talents, poverty and contempt (as in the present instance) generally accompany any deviations from the rule of right, it will tend to promote the practice of virtue, and be attended with consequences beneficial to the community; the following well-authenticated anecdote of Mrs. Manley is here preserved. In 1705 she was concerned with one Mrs. Mary Thompson, a young woman who had been kept by a gentleman of the name of Pheasant, of Upwood, in Huntingdonshire, and then deceased, in prosecuting a suit in Doctors Commons, on the part of Mrs. Thompson, as the widow of Mr. Pheasant; the object of the suit being to establish her right of dower out of Mr. Pheasant's estates, which were about 1500*l.* a year. It appears, on the evidence, which is recorded in Doctors Commons, that Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Thompson were jointly concerned in the prosecution, and that she was to have had 100*l.* per annum for life, if it had succeeded. They had procured one Edmund Smith, a very infamous fellow, and then a prisoner in the Fleet, to forge a marriage entry in the register at a church in Aldersgate Street, which was supported by Smith's swearing himself to have procured the parson who performed the ceremony; and that he and a Mr. Abson were present at the wedding. The parson fixed on was one Dr. Cleaver, who appears, from the evidence, to have been a low and scandalous priest, and, it is believed, the man who married at the Fleet. Cleaver and Abson were both dead when

plauses improper either to be given or accepted by the parties concerned. I fear it will, at first sight, be much more so in this address than any other which has at any time appeared ; but while common dedications are stuffed with painful panegyrics, the plain and honest business of this is, only to do an act of justice, and to end a former misunderstanding between the Author, and him whom she here makes her patron. In consideration that one knows not how far what we have said of each other, may affect our characters in the world, I take it for an act of ho-

when Smith was examined. The cause was supported by some weak collateral evidence, and was overthrown by the strongest evidence to the wickedness of Smith's character, and by proof that the entry, which Smith swore to have been entered by Mr. Pheasant himself, was not Mr. Pheasant's hand-writing ; who lived with Mrs. Thompson as his mistress, and not as his wife. Upon the whole, Mrs. Manley's conduct in this affair shews her to have been a base and wicked woman, capable of suborning perjury and forgery for gain. It is to be noted, that this was in the year 1705. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign she was in high favour with the Tories, as a party-writer, and was noticed by Dr. Swift, whom she assisted in the *Examiner*. Whether he knew her real character is perhaps uncertain. She passed the remainder of her life with Swift's very good friend, John Barber, alderman and printer, as his mistress. She must have been fortunate if her baseness was not known ; if it was, Dr. Swift's friends at least are not much credited by their connexions with her. It is not likely that Mrs. Manley's conduct was a secret, as she was known as a writer before 1705 ; and Smith, in his evidence, swears, that he first heard of the cause being instituted at a *coffee-house* accidentally, where *Mrs. Pheasant's* cause was talked of, and Mr. Peere Williams, then an eminent counsel, was examined as a witness, so that the matter was certainly of public notoriety.

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nour to declare, on my part, that I have not known a greater mortification than when I have reflected upon the severities which have flowed from a pen, which is now, you see, disposed as much to celebrate and commend you. On your part, your sincere endeavour to promote the reputation and success of this Tragedy, are infallible testimonies of the candour and friendship you retain for me. I rejoice in this public retribution, and with pleasure acknowledge, that I find by experience, that some useful notices which I had the good fortune to give you for your conduct in former life, with some hazard to myself, were not to be blotted out of your memory by any hardships that followed them.

I know you so well, that I am assured you already think I have, on this subject, said too much; and I am confident you believe of me, that, did I not conceal much more, I should not say so much. Be then the very memory of disagreeable things forgotten for ever, and give me leave to thank you for your kindness to this Play, and, in return, to shew towards your merit the same good-will. But when my heart is full, and my pen ready to express the kindest sentiments to your advantage, I reflect upon what I have formerly heard you say, that the fame of a gentleman, like the credit of a merchant, must flow from his own intrinsic value; and that all means to enlarge it, which do not arise naturally
from

from that real worth, instead of promoting the character of either, did but lessen, and render it suspicious. I leave you, therefore, to the great opportunities, which are daily in your power, of bestowing on yourself what nobody else can give you; and, wishing you health and prosperity, I omit to dwell upon some very late actions of yours in public, which unhappy prejudices made as little expected from you, as the zeal and sollicitude which you shewed for my private interests in the success of this Play. I shall say no more, trusting to the gallantry of your temper for further proofs of friendship; and allowing you, like a true woman, all the good qualities in the world now I am pleased with you, as well as I gave you all the ill ones when I was angry with you. I remain with the greatest truth, Sir, your most humble, most faithful, and most obliged servant,

DE LA RIVIER MANLEY.

LETTER CCCCLI.

To Bishop HOADLY *.

MY LORD,

[1718].

I HOPE I shall be able to wait upon you at the place you command me at three of the clock

* Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, born at Westerham in Kent, Nov. 14, 1676; admitted Pensioner of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, Feb.

clock on Monday next. There is no great danger of your assuming more power than is welcome: you never exert so much as is voluntarily given you*. Coming home the other night, after your great condescension in liking such pleasures as I entertained your Lordship with, I made the distich, which you will find if you turn over the leaf †:

Virtue with so much ease on Bangor sits,
All faults he pardons, though he none commits.

I am, my Lord, your most obliged, most obedient, humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

Feb. 18, 1691; elected Fellow, Aug. 23, 1697. In 1701, he was appointed lecturer of St. Mildred, in The Poultry. In 1704 he obtained the rectory of St. Peter's Poor, in Broad Street; and Feb. 13, 1710, was presented to the rectory of Streatham in Surrey. Feb. 16, 1715-16, he was admitted and sworn King's Chaplain; and consecrated Bishop of Bangor March 18. In 1721 he was translated to Hereford, and confirmed Nov. 3. In 1723 he was translated to Salisbury, and confirmed Oct. 29. And, eleven years after, was advanced to the bishoprick of Winchester, (confirmed Sept. 16, 1734,) which he held near twenty-seven years; till, on April 17, 1761, at his palace at Chelsea, in the same calm he had enjoyed amidst all the storms that blew around him, he died, full of years and honours, beloved and regretted by all good men, in the 85th year of his age. His useful labours, which will ever be esteemed by all lovers of the natural, civil, and religious rights of Englishmen, were collected, in three folio volumes, by his son, Dr. John Hoadly, chancellor of Winchester, the last surviving male of a very numerous and respectable family, who prefixed to that publication a short account of the venerable Bishop's life.

* See before pp. 173, 180, 189.

† The following article is extracted from a letter written by Dr. John Hoadly: "My father, when Bishop of Bangor, was,
" by

LETTER CCCCLII*.

To the Right Hon. Sir JOHN WARD, Knight,
Lord Mayor of London.

MY LORD,

[1718.]

AS I think it manifest that the design, explained in the following account, will introduce a new and profitable course of trade; I

“ by invitation, present at one of the Whig-meetings, held at
“ The Trumpet in Shoe Lane, where Sir Richard, in his zeal,
“ rather exposed himself, having the double duty of the day upon
“ him, as well to celebrate the immortal memory of King Wil-
“ liam, it being the 4th of November, as to drink his friend
“ ADDISON up to conversation-pitch, whose phlegmatic consti-
“ tution was hardly warmed for society by that time STEELE
“ was not fit for it. Two remarkable circumstances happened:
“ John SLY, the hatter, of facetious memory, was in the house,
“ and, when pretty mellow, took it into his head to come into
“ the company on his knees, with a tankard of ale in his hand,
“ to drink off to the *immortal memory*, and to retire in the same
“ manner. STEELE, sitting next my father, whispered him, *Do*
“ *laugh; it is humanity to laugh.* Sir Richard, in the evening,
“ being too much in the same condition, was put into a chair,
“ and sent home. Nothing would serve him but being carried
“ to the Bishop of Bangor's, late as it was. However, the
“ chairmen carried him home, and got him up stairs, when his
“ great complaisance would wait on them down stairs, which he
“ did, and then was got quietly to bed. The next morning he
“ was much ashamed, and sent the Bishop the distich printed
“ above. On such another occasion the waiters were hoisting
“ him into an hackney-coach, with some labour and pains, when
“ a Tory mob was passing, with their cry, DOWN WITH THE
“ RUMP!—*Up with the Rump*, cried Sir Richard, *or I shall not*
“ *be at home to-night.*”

* Prefixed to the “ Account of the Fish-Pool;” of which see
several of the preceding Letters, particularly Lett. CCLXXIX.
p. 165.

presume to address this narration to the greatest magistrate of the greatest commercial city.

Your personal eminent qualities, as a good citizen and man of business, which I have frequently heard you exert, where you, with great ability, represent the same city in another honourable character *, entitle you also to the veneration and esteem which determine me in my present application.

The arts and sciences (in which I pretend to no accurate skill) should always be employed in enquiries that may tend to the general advantage; and they must lose the name of liberal, when the professors of them seclude themselves from society, or live in it without applying their abilities to the service of it. For it is by the joint force of men of different talents that useful purposes are best accomplished; and a certain felicity of invention in one, joined to the experience and practical skill of another, may bring works to perfection, which would be so far from growth, that they would not so much as have had birth, but from the good intelligence between persons of unlike abilities, whose good will towards each other united their endeavours.

* He represented the city of London in the parliaments elected in 1708 and 1714, and the borough of Dunwich in 1722. He was elected Alderman of Candlewick Ward in 1709; served the office of Sheriff in 1716, and that of Lord Mayor in 1718-19. He was also one of the Directors of the Bank; and died March 12, 1725-6.

I dare

I dare promise your Lordship, that the correspondence between the undertakers of this design, will produce to the world many other operations *, which will create more wonder that they were not performed before, than that they are now brought into use. For it is certain, that great and worthy works are every day lost, by the distance which is kept between men, from the very reason which should make them seek each other in their different ways of life and education.

Among the employments of human life, that of the merchant (whose good is the good of all men) should by all be held in the first esteem : it is he who enlarges the interests of his country ; it is he, who, by his credit, makes his fellow-citizen every where at home, and extends the offices, advantages, and civilities, of acquaintance and neighbourhood, to all parts of the habitable world.

The following invention is proposed to be carried on with a superior regard to the laws and rights of commerce, which oblige every man to think of himself but in the second place,

* If it were not that Steele had been, long before this time, laughed at as a chemist who was searching in vain for the philosopher's stone, one might have supposed, from this passage, that " the laboratory at Poplar, now converted into a garden-house," was the scene of the secret operations whence the Fish Pool and other wonderful discoveries were to originate. See Supplement to Swift, cr. 8vo, vol. I. p. 111.

or to make his first intentions, at least, strictly agreeable to the good of his country, and that of all his fellow-citizens; and therefore, the account of it may be a-present not unworthy a gentleman of your free and disinterested character; and I flatter myself it will have the influence of your Lordship in the prosecution of it. I need not say how great that influence must needs be, where you act for them in the greatest capacities your fellow-citizens have to bestow.

I congratulate both them and you, that a person of such known equanimity is vested with the double capacity of asserting and protecting their privileges; whose candour and benignity naturally tend to abate animosity, encourage industry, promote peace, prevent disorder, secure wealth, and relieve poverty: in all which noble ends and cares I wish you a prosperous and memorable mayoralty; and again humbly desiring, that if the design shall in the least degree appear serviceable in any of these generous respects, it may have your protection. I remain, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant, RICHARD STEELE.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCLIII.

To the Earl of Oxford*.

MY LORD,

[1719.]

I AM very glad of the occasion wherein I have the good fortune to think the same way with

* Robert Harley, esq. eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, born Dec. 5, 1661. At the Revolution, Sir Edward and his son Robert raised a troop of horse at their own expence. On the accession of King William, Mr. Harley was elected member for Tregony; and afterward for Radnor, which he represented till called to the Upper House. Feb. 12, 1701-2, he was chosen Speaker; as he was again, 31 Dec. following; and a third time, in the first parliament of Queen Anne. April 17, 1704, he was sworn of the Privy Council; and, May 18 following, appointed Secretary of State, being still Speaker of the House of Commons. His office of Secretary he resigned, Feb. 12, 1707-8. He was made a Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Aug. 10, 1710; and three days after sworn again of the Privy Council; where, March 8, 1711, his life was attacked by Guiscard: the address of both houses of parliament will best shew the sense of the nation at that alarming attempt. Her Majesty, in reward for his many services, was graciously pleased to advance him to the peerage, by the title of Baron Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, May 11, 1711: on the 29th, he was appointed Lord Treasurer; August 15, chosen Governor of the South Sea Company, of which he had been the founder; and, Oct. 26, 1712, was honoured with the Garter. July 27, 1714, he resigned the Treasurer's staff. June 10, 1715, his Lordship was impeached by the House of Commons; and though it is not strictly true that he was dismissed without a trial, it actually was so in effect, the Commons having declined appearing to make good their charge. His Lordship's situation was somewhat singular. The articles of impeachment against him were carried up July 9, 1715, when he was committed to The Tower. On August 2, additional articles were sent up; on the 3d of September his Lordship's answer was delivered; and on the 19th the House of Commons

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joined

with your Lordship, because I have very long suffered a great deal of pain in reflecting upon a certain virulence with which my zeal has heretofore transported me to treat your Lordship's person and character. I do protest to you, excepting in the first smart of my disgrace and expulsion out of the House of Commons, I never writ any thing that ought to displease you but

joined issue by replication. After several adjournments, the Parliament re-assembled Jan. 9, 1715, and continued sitting until June 26, 1716, when an end was put to the session by a prorogation. Feb. 20, 1717, a new session was opened. May 22, the Earl, being still in confinement, petitioned the House of Peers to take the circumstances of his case into consideration, "being assured it was not their Lordships' intention that his confinement should be indefinite." The petition having been referred to a Committee, who made their report May 25, it was agreed by the House, that the "impeachment was *not determined* by the prorogation." The day for trial was accordingly fixed, first for June 13, and, at the desire of the Commons, deferred till the 24th, on which day it actually commenced. The charge was opened by Mr. Hampden, and Sir Joseph Jekyll began to proceed to make good the first article of the impeachment; but the Upper House having resolved, "that the Commons should not be admitted to proceed, in order to make good their articles for high crimes and misdemeanors, till judgment were first given on the articles for high treason," the managers for the Commons proceeded no further that day. Several conferences having been held on the subject, without effect, the Upper House proceeded on the trial July 1; and, after proclamation for all persons concerned to take notice that the Earl of Oxford stood on his trial, that they might come forth to make good their charge, and the Commons not appearing, his Lordship was brought to the bar, "acquitted of the articles, and all things therein contained;" the impeachment was dismissed; and the following day his Lordship re-assumed his seat in Parliament. His Lordship died, in the 64th year of his age, May 21, 1724, after having been twice married.

with

with a reluctant heart, and in opposition to much good-will and esteem for your many great and uncommon talents. And I take the liberty to say thus publicly to yourself what I have often said to others on the subject of my behaviour to you; I never had any other reason to lessen my Lord of Oxford than that which Brutus had to stab Cæsar—the love of my country. Your Lordship will, I hope, believe, there cannot be a more voluntary, unrestrained reparation made to a man than that I make to you, in begging your pardon thus publicly for every thing I have spoken or written to your disadvantage, foreign to the argument and cause which I was then labouring to support. You will please to believe, that I could not be so insensible as not to be touched with the generosity of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought that your very virtue was dangerous, and that it was (as the world then stood) absolutely necessary to depreciate so adventurous a genius, surrounded with so much power as your Lordship then had. I transgressed, my Lord, against you, when you could make twelve peers in a day; I ask your pardon, when you are a private nobleman; and, as I told you when I resigned the Stamp-office*, I wished you all prosperity consistent with the public good,

* See his former Letter, p. 371. Letter CCCCXXIII.

So now I congratulate you upon the pleasure you must needs have in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people, and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have rightly judged of men's passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them for a man's safety and honour, can administer pleasure to a man of sense and spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause of satisfaction. In confidence that you will accept of my sorrow and repentance for the unprovoked liberties I have taken in my former writings, I make you my patron in this present discourse * on the greatest occasion that has perhaps ever happened in England. Your Lordship will see I write in haste; and the necessity of pressing forward to be time enough to be of any use, will excuse the failures in style and expression. I shall therefore immediately fall into the matter of the bill, which, I fear, may change this free state into the worst of all tyrannies, that of an aristocracy. I shall support my reasons for that terror by running through the several parts of it, and making it appear, that this is more likely than any other consequence that can be

* His opposition to the Peerage Bill. It was during this opposition to the Court that his licence for acting plays was revoked; and his patent rendered ineffectual, at the instance of the Lord Chamberlain. See the next Letter.

supposed

supposed will attend such a law as this would be. The whole tenor of it is very unfortunately put together, if any thing but an additional power to the Peers is intended by it. R. STEELE.

LETTER CCCCLIV*.

To the Duke of NEWCASTLE.

My most honoured Lord and Patron,

Villars-street, York-buildings, Jan. 15, 1719-20.

IF your Grace believes that it is as great to undo as to make a man, I am the unhappy instrument in both kinds; and, if it is a gratification to you, I have some consolation in the wretched distinction of being the only man the Duke of Newcastle ever injured. My high obligations to you temper my spirit; and, after some tumult of soul, and agony of the worst passions in it, I behold you in the pleasing light you have heretofore appeared to me†. I make you allowance for the disadvantage of youth.

* Originally printed in the eighth number of "The Theatre," with this introduction:—"Sir, Your last Paper having descended to the case of particular men, who are concerned in the theatre, I hope you will allow me the advantage of being represented to the town by your means, and of conveying my thoughts to a noble person, who has forbid me, without any fault of mine, ever to approach him, either by speech or writing, as long as we live; but you will understand me better by reading what I know not how to convey to him, unless you will please to print it."

† See p. 442. Letter CCCCXLIV.

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and

and prosperity, and my benefactor covers my oppressor. As this last word must needs give offence to a noble nature, it stands upon me to make out my complaint, and shew all the world, for all the world will be curious in this case, as obscure as I am, for I have ceased to be so since I have been distinguished by your Grace's displeasure. The patent which I have from his Majesty makes me the sole Governor of a company of comedians for my life, and that franchise is to subsist in those who claim under me three years after my death; there is nothing in it, as to the bestowing part from the Crown, but what are mere transcripts of the patent given by King Charles to Sir William Davenant; and, though I might have had it to myself as well as he, I made a conscience and scruple of asking for my heirs, an office that required a very particular turn and capacity to execute. It is not, my Lord, very common in courts, for a man to ask less, when he knows he may obtain more; the very night I received it, I participated the power and use of it, with relation to the profits that should arise from it, between the gentlemen who invited me into the licence upon his Majesty's happy accession to the throne; and it has flourished in all manner of respects to a degree unknown in any former time. When your Grace came to be Chamberlain, from a generous design of making every office and authority the

the better for your wearing, your Grace was induced to send for me, and the other sharers, and in an absolute manner offered us a licence, and demanded a resignation of the patent, which I presumed as absolutely to refuse. This refusal I made in writing, and petitioned the King for his protection in the grant which he had given me. This matter rested thus for many months; and the next molestation we received was by an order, signed by your Grace, to dismiss Mr. Cibber. The actors obeyed; but I presumed to write to your Grace against it, and expressed my sorrow that you would give me no better occasion of shewing my duty but by bearing oppression from you. This freedom produced a message by your kinsman and secretary, whom I treated with as much deference and respect as any man living could do the Duke of Newcastle coming from the King. This message was, in your Grace's name, to forbid me ever to write, speak, or visit you more. The gentleman, I dare say, has told you, that I answered him almost in these very words:

“ Sir, I beg of you to take notice of my
 “ manner, my voice, and my gesture, when I
 “ answer to this severe message; and let the
 “ Duke of Newcastle know, that with the most
 “ profound submission and humility I received
 “ it, and protested to you, that I could have no
 “ message from any family, except the Royal

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“ one,

“one, that could give me half this mortification. If I have not fallen into phrases that speak me truly sorrowful and humble, use any you yourself can think of which are more so, and you will then best express my meaning. At the same time you may very truly say, that if any other man were Chamberlain, and should send me such a message, my reply should be as haughty as it is now humble.”

He left me with a farther declaration, that my patent should be prosecuted according to law. I rested as well satisfied as one who had lost so powerful a friend could, from a security in a still greater power, that of the laws of the land; but I was soon after awakened out of this slumber, which was far from being an easy one, by hearing that your Grace had sent for Mr. Booth, and threatened a signed manual, which must necessarily disable me, as to my defence, before you would proceed against me according to law. I did your Grace the justice to think it impossible for you to be prevailed upon to do that. I assure your Grace, the great name on the top of the Paper did not give me more terror than the name at the bottom did sorrow. The Minister who subscribes, is answerable for what the King writes. Our laws make our Prince author of nothing but favour to his subjects. My patent cannot be hurt, except it can be proved it was obtained

obtained *per deceptionem*, as, according to my duty, I am to believe this order, for it does, by an artificial method in its effect, destroy by his signed manual, what is granted by his great seal, which had been impossible to be brought about, had the matter been fairly represented. All I could do, was to represent it by petition, which I delivered in your Grace's presence on Friday night, the prayer of which was : "Votre
 "suppliant donc prie très humblement votre
 "Majesté, qu'il ne reçoive aucune molestation,
 "que par la loye en juste forme de procès;" your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, he may not be any way molested but by due course of law. I know not by what accident it happened that my petition was never read, but the next news I heard was the order of revocation. But I must take the liberty to say, that his Majesty must grant the ruffians, mentioned in the last proclamation, which is denied unhappy me, a trial by due course of law. The revocation came on the Saturday; your Grace was so good as not to break the Sabbath upon me; but the sufficient evil of this day, being Monday, is an order of silence. Your Grace will please to read them both over again, which are to this effect :

"Whereas by our Royal Licence, bearing
 "date the 18th day of October, 1714, We did
 "give and grant unto Richard Steele, Esq. now
 "Sir Richard Steele, Knt. Mr. Robert Wilks,
 "Mr.

“ Mr. Colley Cibber, Mr. Thomas Dogget, and
 “ Mr. Barton Booth, full power, licence, and
 “ authority, to form, constitute, and establish a
 “ Company of Comedians. And having re-
 “ ceived information of great misbehaviours
 “ committed by our Company of Comedians
 “ now acting at the Theatre in Drury Lane.
 “ Therefore, for reforming the Comedians, and
 “ for establishing the just and ancient authority
 “ of the Officers of our Household, and more es-
 “ pecially of our Chamberlain, We have
 “ thought fit to revoke the abovementioned
 “ Licence. And we do further (as much as in
 “ us lies, and as by law we may,) revoke and
 “ make void all other licences, powers, and au-
 “ thorities whatsoever, and at any time hereto-
 “ fore given by us to the said Sir Richard
 “ Steele, Robert Wilks, Colley Cibber, Tho-
 “ mas Dogget, and Barton Booth, or to any of
 “ them severally.”

In pursuance of this, your Grace proceeds thus :

“ Whereas his Majesty has thought fit, by his
 “ Letters of Revocation, bearing date the 23d
 “ day of January, 1719, (for divers weighty
 “ reasons therein contained) to revoke his Royal
 “ Licence : For the effectual prevention of any
 “ future misbehaviour, in obedience to his Ma-
 “ jesty's commands I do, by virtue of my of-
 “ fice of Chamberlain of his Majesty's Houf-
 “ hold, hereby discharge you the said Managers
 “ and

“ and Comedians at the said Theatre in Drury
“ Lane in Covent Garden from further acting.
“ Given under my hand and seal this 25th day
“ of January, 1719.

“ To the Gentlemen managing the Company
“ of Comedians at the Theatre in Drury
“ Lane in Covent Garden, and to all the
“ Comedians and Actors there.”

It is observable, that though his Majesty took great care to express himself according to his gracious inclination, with much reserve and care that nothing but the law should hurt his poor subject, in the words “ as much as in us
“ lies, and as by law we may,” your Grace has been prevailed upon to supply the defective hardship. I shall not say more, or make stronger observations upon what you have signed; for my love to you will not let me call this an act of yours, as my duty to my Prince will not let me call it an act of his. I wish your Grace had been as careful as he in leaving me to the law. But if you will allow me to ask you one favour, before you have quite broke my heart and spirit, give me but the name of your adviser, that is to say, your lawyer, on this occasion; and you shall see that it is not for want of skill in life that I am subjected to all the pains and punishments to which those wicked ones are exposed who are described by the monosyllable “ Poor.” When I know who has made your Grace thus
injure

injure the best master and best servant that ever man had, I will teach him the difference between law and justice; he shall soon understand, that he who advises how to escape the law and do injustice to his fellow-subject, is an agent of Hell; such a man, for a larger fee, would lend a dark-lanthorn to a murderer, which would be but the same iniquity practised in a higher degree, that would be more cruel, but not more unjust. When I am sure who he is, I shall with justice use him, as he does with injustice use me; I shall so far imitate him as to be within the law, when I am endeavouring to starve him. I hope he is poor, by selling poison to get himself food *. But I fear I grow transported beyond the respect that is due to your Grace's presence, and protest to you, in the most solemn manner, that, rather than never to be well with you more, were myself and family only concerned in it, I would this moment resign my patent for any employment of less profit that you would procure me; but my obligations to your Grace will not discharge those which I am under to the rest of the world. I would not hurt any man now in India for the favour of the greatest

* This lawyer was Sir Thomas Pengelly, some time Chief Baron of the Exchequer court, whose name he dissects thus: *Pen* is the Welsh word for head, *Guel* the Dutch word for money, which, with the English word *Ly*, express one who turns his head to lye for money. "The Theatre," N^o IX. and XI.

man

man in England, or give up a door-keeper of the play-house to make myself *; therefore your Grace, I hope, will forgive me, that, to gratify

* This application proving ineffectual, Steele published soon after "The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the opinions of Pemberton, Northey, and Parker, concerning the Theatre." In this pamphlet he states the account of his loss by this proceeding, as follows:

Six hundred pounds a year for life, moderately valued, amounts to	—	—	£. s. d. 6000 0 0
Three years after my life	—	—	1800 0 0
My share in the scenes, stock, &c.	—	—	1000 0 0
The profit of acting my own plays already written, or which I may write	—	—	1000 0 0
Total			£. 9800 0 0

He then declares he never did one act to provoke this attempt, nor, says he, does the Chamberlain pretend to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares he will ruin Steele; "which, in a man in his circumstances against one in mine, is as great as the humour of Malagene, in the comedy, who valued himself upon his activity in tripping up cripples. All this is done against a man to whom Whig, Tory, Roman Catholic, Dissenter, Native, Foreigner, owe zeal and good-will for good offices endeavoured towards every one of their civil rights, and their kind wishes for him are but a just return. But what ought to weigh most with his Lordship the Chamberlain, is my zeal for his master; of which I shall at present say no more than that his Lordship and many others may perhaps have done more for the House of Hanover than I have; but I am the only man in his Majesty's dominions who did all he could." State of the Case, &c. p. 30. It is observable that our Author's friend, Mr. Walpole, was at this time in disfavour at Court, having resigned his post of First Commissioner of the Treasury on the 10th of April, 1721, and was not replaced till April 2, 1721, presently after which, viz. on the 18th of May following, Sir Richard was also restored to his Office of Comptroller of the Theatre.

you, I do not confign to diftreſs and poverty above fixty families, who all live comfortably, many of them plentifully, under my preſent juřiſdiction. When I reſign them, they may be governed by your Grace's ſucceſſor in your office as they have been by your predeceſſor*, according to humour and caprice, and not reaſon and juſtice. In their defence and my own I deny all allegations of voluntary neglect imputed to me or them, or undue demands made upon the ſubject by me or them; and ſhall always, with ſafety to my honour, and duty to the reſt of the world, and no other reſerve, be, my Lord, your Grace's moſt obliged, moſt devoted, and obedient humble ſervant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCLV.

To Mr. CONGREVE.

Occaſioned by Mr. TICKELL's Preface to the Four Volumes of Mr. ADDISON's Works †.

S I R,

[1722].

THIS is the ſecond time ‡ that I have, without your leave, taken the liberty to make a public addreſs to you. However uneaſy you may be *for your own ſake* in receiving compli-

* The Duke of Bolton was the predeceſſor; the Duke of Grafton the ſucceſſor.

† See, in p. 448, Steele's Original Preface to the Drummer.

‡ See the firſt Letter in p. 401. Letter CCCXXXI.

ments of this nature, I depend upon your known humanity for pardon, when I acknowledge, that you have this present trouble for *mine*. When I take myself to be ill treated with regard to my behaviour to the merit of other men, my conduct towards you is an argument of my candour that way, as well as that your name and authority will be my protection in it. You will give me leave, therefore, in a matter that concerns us in the poetical world, to make you my judge, whether I am not injured in the highest manner; for, with men of your taste and delicacy, it is a high crime and misdemeanor to be guilty of any thing that is disingenuous: but I will go into the matter.

Upon my return out of Scotland, I visited Mr. Tonson's shop, and thanked him for his care in sending to my house the volumes of my dear and honoured friend Mr. Addison, which are at last published by his secretary Mr. Tickell; but took occasion to observe, "that I
" had not seen the work before it came out;" which he did not think fit to excuse any other-wise than by a recrimination, "that I had put
" into his hands at an high price, a comedy
" called 'The Drummer;' which, by my zeal
" for it, he took to be written by Mr. Addison,
" of which, after his death, he said, I directly
" acknowledged he was the author." To urge
this

this hardship still more home, he produced a receipt under my hand, in these words :

“ March 12, 1715.

“ Received then the sum of fifty guineas, for
“ the copy of the Comedy called ‘ The Drum-
“ mer, or, The Haunted House :’ I say, received
“ by order of the Author of the said Comedy.

“ RICHARD STEELE.”

And added, at the same time, that since Mr. Tickell had not thought fit to make that play a part of Mr. Addison's Works, he would sell the copy to any bookseller that would give most for it.

This is represented thus circumstantially to shew how incumbent it is upon me, as well in justice to the bookseller, as for many other considerations, to produce this Comedy a second time, and take this occasion to vindicate myself against certain insinuations thrown out by the publisher of Mr. Addison's writings concerning my behaviour in the nicest circumstance, that of doing justice to the merit of my friend.

I shall take the liberty, before I have ended this letter, to say why I believe “ The Drummer” a performance of Mr. Addison ; and, after declaring this, any surviving writer may be at ease, if there be any one who has hitherto been vain enough to hope, or silly enough to fear, it may be given to himself.

Before

Before I go any further, I must make my public appeal to you and all the learned world, and humbly demand whether it was a decent or reasonable thing that works written (as a great part of Mr. Addison's were) in correspondence with me, ought to have been published without my review of the catalogue of them? or, if there were any exception to be made against any circumstance in my conduct, whether an opportunity to explain myself should not have been allowed me, before any reflections were made upon me in print?

When I perused Mr. Tickell's Preface, I had soon many objections, besides his omission to say any thing of "The Drummer," against his long-expected performance. The chief intention of which, and which it concerns me first to examine, seems to aim at doing the deceased author justice against me, whom he insinuates to have assumed to myself part of the merit of my friend.

He is pleased, Sir, to express himself concerning the present writer in the following manner: "The Comedy called 'The Tender Husband' appeared much about the same time, to which Mr. Addison wrote the prologue. Sir Richard Steele surprised him with a very handsome dedication of this play, and has since acquainted the publick that he owed some of the most taking scenes of it to Mr. Addison*."

* Mr. Tickell's Preface, p. 11.

" He was in that kingdom [Ireland] when he
 " first discovered Sir Richard Steele to be the
 " author of 'The Tatler,' by an observation
 " upon Virgil, which had been by him commu-
 " nicated to his friend *. The assistance he oc-
 " casionally gave him afterwards, in the course
 " of his paper, did not a little contribute to ad-
 " vance its reputation; and, upon the change
 " of the Ministry, he found leisure to engage
 " more constantly in that work, which, how-
 " ever, was dropped at last, as it had been
 " taken up, without his participation.

" In the last paper, which closed those cele-
 " brated performances, and in the preface to
 " the last volume, Sir Richard Steele has given
 " to Mr. Addison the honour of the most ap-
 " plauded pieces in that collection. But as
 " that acknowledgment was delivered only in
 " general terms, without directing the publick
 " to the several papers, Mr. Addison, who was
 " content with the praise arising from his own
 " works, and too delicate to take any part of
 " that which belonged to others, afterwards
 " thought fit to distinguish his writings in the
 " Spectators and Guardians by such marks as
 " might remove the least possibility of mistake
 " in the most undiscerning readers. It was ne-
 " cessary that his share in the Tatlers should be

* This has been generally supposed to allude to TAT. N^o 6.
 See new edit. with notes, vol. I. p. 170 note.

“adjusted in a complete collection of his
 “Works; for which reason Sir Richard Steele,
 “in compliance with the request of his de-
 “ceased friend, delivered to him by the Editor,
 “was pleased to mark with his own hand those
 “Tatlers which are inserted in this edition,
 “and even to point out several in the writing
 “of which they were both concerned *.”

“The plan of ‘The Spectator,’ as far as it
 “regards the figned person of the author, and
 “of the several characters that compose his
 “club, was projected in concert with Sir
 “Richard Steele; and because many passages,
 “in the course of the work, would otherwise be
 “obscure, I have taken leave to insert one single
 “paper, written by Sir Richard Steele, where-
 “in those characters are drawn, which may
 “serve as a *Dramatis Personæ*, or as so many
 “pictures for an ornament and explication of
 “the whole. As for the distinct papers, they
 “were never or seldom shewn to each other by
 “their respective authors, who fully answered
 “the promise they had made, and far out-
 “went the expectation they had raised of pur-
 “suing their labour in the same spirit and
 “strength with which it was begun †.”

It need not be explained, that it is here in-
 timated that I had not sufficiently acknow-
 ledged what was due to Mr. Addison in these

* Mr. Tickell's Preface, p. 12.

† Ibid. p. 13.

writings. I shall make a full answer to what seems intended by the words "He was too delicate to take any part of that which belonged to others," if I can recite, out of my own papers, any thing that may make it appear groundless.

The subsequent encomiums bestowed by me on Mr. Addison will, I hope, be of service to me in this particular.

"But I have only one gentleman, *who will be nameless*, to thank for any frequent assistance to me; which, indeed, it would have been barbarous in him to have denied to one with whom he has lived in an intimacy from childhood, considering the great ease with which he is able to dispatch the most entertaining pieces of this nature. This good office he performed with such force of genius, humour, wit, and learning, that I fared like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him.

"The same hand writ the distinguishing characters of men and women, under the names of *Musical Instruments*, the *Distress of the News-writers*, the *Inventory of the Play-house*, and the *Description of the Thermometer*, which I cannot but look upon as the greatest embellishments of this work *."

* Preface to the fourth volume of the Tatlers.

"As

“ As to the work itself, the acceptance it has
 “ met with is the best proof of its value : but
 “ I should err against that candour which an ho-
 “ nest man should always carry about him, if I
 “ did not own, that the most approved pieces
 “ in it were written by others, and those, which
 “ have been most excepted against, by myself:
 “ The hand that has assisted me in those noble
 “ discourses upon the immortality of the soul,
 “ the glorious prospects of another life, and the
 “ most sublime ideas of religion and virtue, is a
 “ person who is too fondly my friend ever to
 “ own them: but I should little deserve to be
 “ his if I usurped the glory of them. I must
 “ acknowledge, at the same time, that I think
 “ the finest strokes of wit and humour in all
 “ Mr. Bickerstaff’s Lucubrations are those for
 “ which he is also beholden to him *.”

“ I hope the apology I have made as to the
 “ licence allowable to a feigned character, may
 “ excuse any thing that has been said in these
 “ Discourses of the Spectator and his works.
 “ But the imputation of the grossest vanity
 “ would still dwell upon me if I did not give
 “ some account by what means I was enabled to
 “ keep up the spirit of so long and approved a
 “ performance. All the papers marked with a
 “ C, L, I, or O, that is to say, all the papers
 “ *which I have distinguished* by any letter in the

* Tatler, N^o 271.

" name of the Muse *CLIO**, were given me by the
 " gentleman of whose assistance I formerly boast-
 " ed in the preface and concluding leaf of 'The
 " Tatler.' I am indeed much more proud of
 " his long-continued friendship than I should be
 " of the fame of being thought the author of
 " any writings which he himself is capable of
 " producing. I remember, when I finished
 " 'The Tender Husband,' I told him there was
 " nothing I so ardently wished as that we
 " might, some time or other, publish a work,
 " written by us both, which should bear the
 " name of 'The Monument,' in memory of our
 " friendship. I heartily wish what I have done
 " here were as honorary to that sacred name as
 " learning, wit, and humanity render those pieces
 " which I have taught the reader how to distin-
 " guish for his. When the play abovemention-
 " ed was last acted, there were so many ap-
 " plauded strokes in it, which I had from the
 " same hand, that I thought very meanly of
 " myself that I had ever publicly acknowledged
 " them. After I have put other friends upon
 " importuning him to publish dramatic as well
 " as other writings he has by him, I shall end
 " what I think I am obliged to say on this
 " head by giving the reader this hint for the

* It seems probable that these letters, which in conjunction make up the name of the Muse *Clio*, were originally used as signatures by ADDISON, to denote the places where the papers were written, viz. *Chelsea*, *London*, *Islington*, and his *Office* as Secretary of State,

" better

“better judging of my productions: That the
 “best comment upon them would be an ac-
 “count when the patron to ‘The Tender
 “Husband’ was in England or abroad *.”

“My purpose, in this application, is only to
 “shew the esteem I have for you, and that I
 “look upon my intimacy with you as one of
 “the most valuable enjoyments of my life †.”

I am sure you have read my quotations with indignation against the little zeal which prompted the Editor, who, by the way, has in himself done nothing in applause of the works which he prefaces, to the mean endeavours of adding to Mr. Addison, by disparaging a man who had, for the greatest part of his life, been his known bosom friend, and shielded him from all the resentments which many of his own works would have brought upon him at the time in which they were written. It is really a good office to society, to expose the indiscretion of intermeddlers in the friendship and correspondence of men, whose sentiments, passions, and resentments, are too great for their proportion of soul. Could the Editor’s indiscretion provoke me even so far as within the rules of strictest honour I could go, and I were not restrained by supererogatory affection to dear Mr. Addison, I would ask this unskilful creature what he means,

* Spectator, N^o 555.

† Dedication before “The Tender Husband.” See p. 290.

when he speaks in the air of a reproach, that "The Tatler" was laid down as it was taken up, without his participation; let him speak out and say, why "without his knowledge" would not serve his purpose as well. If, as he says, he restrains himself to Mr. Addison's character as a writer, while he attempts to lessen me, he exalts me: for he has declared to all the world what I never have so explicitly done, that I am, to all intents and purposes, the author of "The Tatler." He very justly says, the occasional assistance Mr. Addison gave me in the course of that Paper "did not a little contribute to advance its reputation, especially when, upon the change of the ministry, he found leisure to engage more constantly in it." It was advanced indeed; for it was raised to a greater thing than I intended it: for the elegance, purity, and correctness, which appeared in his writings, were not so much my purpose, as in any intelligible manner as I could to railly all those singularities of human life, through the different professions and characters in it, which obstruct any thing that was truly good and great. After this acknowledgement you will see, that is, such a man as you will see, that I rejoiced in being excelled, and made those little talents, whatever they are which I have, give way, and be subservient to the superior qualities of a friend whom I loved, and whose modesty would never

never have admitted them to come into daylight but under such a shelter. So that all which the Editor has said, either out of design or incapacity, Mr. Congreve must determine to end in this, that Steele has been so candid and upright, that he owes nothing to Mr. Addison as a writer; but whether he does or does not, whatever Steele owes to Mr. Addison, the publick owes Addison to Steele. But the Editor has such a fantastical and ignorant zeal for his patron, that he will not allow his correspondents to conceal any thing of his, though in obedience to his commands. What I never did declare was Mr. Addison's, I had his direct injunctions to hide, against the natural warmth and passion of my own temper towards my friends. Many of the writings now published as his, I have been very patiently traduced and calumniated for, as they were pleasantries and oblique strokes upon certain the wittiest men of the age, who will now restore me to their good-will, in proportion to the abatement of wit which they thought I employed against them. But I was saying, that the Editor will not allow us to obey his patron's commands in any thing which he thinks would redound to his credit if discovered. And because I would shew a little wit in my anger, I shall have the discretion to shew you, that he has been guilty in this particular towards a much greater man than your humble servant, and one whom

whom you are much more obliged to vindicate. Mr. Dryden, in his Virgil, after having acknowledged, that "a certain excellent young man" had shewed him many faults in the translation of Virgil, which he had endeavoured to correct, goes on to say, "two other worthy friends of mine, who desire to have their names concealed, seeing me straitened in my time, took pity on me, and gave me the Life of Virgil, the two Prefaces to the Pastorals and the Georgics, and all the Arguments in prose to the whole translation." If Mr. Addison is one of the two friends, and the Preface to the Georgics be what the Editor calls the Essay upon the Georgics, as one may adventure to say they are, from their being word for word the same, he has cast an inhuman reflection upon Mr. Dryden, who, though tied down not to name Mr. Addison, pointed at him, so as all mankind conversant in these matters knew him, with an elogium equal to the highest merit, considering who it was that bestowed it. I could not avoid remarking upon this circumstance, out of justice to Mr. Dryden, but confess, at the same time, I took a great pleasure in doing it, because I knew, in exposing this outrage, I made my court to Mr. Congreve.

I have observed, that the Editor will not let me nor any one else obey Mr. Addison's commands in hiding any thing he desires should be
concealed.

concealed. I cannot but take further notice, that the circumstance of marking his Spectators, which I did not know till I had done with the work, I made my own act; because I thought it too great a sensibility in my friend, and thought it, since it was done, better to be supposed marked by me than the author himself; the real state of which this zealot rashly and injudiciously exposes. I ask the reader, Whether any thing but an earnestness to disparage me could provoke the Editor, in behalf of Mr. Addison, to say that he marked it out of caution against me when I had taken upon me to say it was I that did it out of tenderness to him?

As the imputation of any the least attempt of arrogating to myself, or detracting from Mr. Addison, is without any colour of truth; you will give me leave to go on in the same ardour towards him, and resent the cold, unaffectionate, dry, and barren manner in which this gentleman gives an account of as great a benefactor as any one learned man ever had of another. Would any man, who had been produced from a college life, and pushed into one of the most considerable employments of the kingdom, as to its weight and trust, and greatly lucrative with respect to a fellowship, and who had been daily and hourly with one of the greatest men of the age, be satisfied with himself in saying nothing
of

of such a person, besides what all the world knew, except a particularity, and that to his disadvantage, which I, his friend from a boy, don't know to be true, to wit, "that he never
 " had a regular pulse?" As for the facts and considerable periods of his life, he either knew nothing of them, or injudiciously places them in a worse light than that in which they really stood. When he speaks of Mr. Addison's declining to go into orders, his way of doing it is, to lament that his seriousness and modesty, which might have recommended him, "proved
 " the chief obstacles to it. It seems, those qualities by which the priesthood is so much
 " adorned represented the duties of it as too
 " weighty for him, and rendered him still more
 " worthy of that honour which they made him
 " decline." These, you know very well, were not the reasons which made Mr. Addison turn his thoughts to the civil world; and, as you were the instrument of his becoming acquainted with my Lord Halifax, I doubt not but you remember the warm instances that noble Lord made to the head of the college not to insist upon Mr. Addison's going into orders; his arguments were founded upon the general pravity and corruption of men of business, who wanted liberal education. And I remember, as if I had read the letter yesterday, that my Lord ended with a compliment, "that, however he might
 " be

“ be represented as no friend to the Church, he
“ never would do it any other injury than keep-
“ ing Mr. Addison out of it.”—The contention
for this man, in his early youth, among the
people of greatest power, Mr. Secretary Tickell,
the executor for his fame, is pleased to ascribe
to a serious visage and modesty of behaviour.
When a writer is grossly and essentially faulty,
it were a jest to take notice of a false expression,
or a phrase; otherwise Priesthood, in that place,
might be observed upon as a term not used by
the real well-wishers to Clergymen, except
when they would express some solemn act, and
not when that order is spoken of as a profession
among gentlemen. I will not therefore busy
myself about “ the unconcerning parts of know-
“ ledge, but be contented, like a reader of plain
“ sense without politeness;” and, since Mr. Se-
cretary will give us no account of this gentle-
man, “ I admit the Alps and Apennines, instead
“ of his Editor, to be commentators of his
“ works, which,” as the Editor says, “ have
“ raised a demand for correctness.” This de-
mand, by the way, ought to be more strong
upon those who were most about him, and had
the greatest advantage of “ his example.” But
our Editor says, “ that those who come the
“ nearest to exactness are but too often fond of
“ unnatural beauties, and aim at something
“ better than perfection.” Believe me, Sir,
Mr.

Mr. Addison's example will carry no man further than that height for which Nature capacitated him; and the affectation of following great men in works above the genius of their imitators will never rise further than the production of uncommon and unsuitable ornaments in a barren discourse, like flowers upon an heath, such as the author's phrase of "something better than perfection." But indeed his preface, if ever any thing was, is that "something better," for it is so extraordinary that we cannot say it is too long or too short, or deny but that it is both. I think I abstract myself from all manner of prejudice when I aver, that no man, though without any obligation to Mr. Addison, would have represented him in his family, and his friendships or his personal character, so disadvantageously as his secretary (in preference of whom he incurred the warmest resentments of other gentlemen) has been pleased to describe him in those particulars.

Mr. Dean Addison, father of this memorable man, left behind him four children, each of whom, for excellent talents and singular perfections, was as much above the ordinary world as their brother Joseph was above them. Were things of this nature to be exposed to public view, I could shew, under the Dean's own hand*,

* If this letter should by chance exist among the papers in the possession of Mr. Scurlock, it would be an acceptable communication to the curious.

in the warmest terms, his blessing on the friendship between his son and me; nor had he a child who did not prefer me in the first place of kindness and esteem, as their father loved me like one of them; and I can with great pleasure say, I never omitted any opportunity of shewing that zeal for their persons and interests as became a gentleman and a friend. Were I now to indulge myself, I could talk a great deal to you, which I am sure would be entertaining; but as I am speaking, at the same time, to all the world, I considered it would be impertinent. Let me then confine myself a while to the following play, which I at first recommended to the stage, and carried to the press. No one who reads the preface which I published * with it will imagine I could be induced to say so much as I then did, had I not known the man I best loved had had a part in it, or had I believed that any other concerned had much more to do than as an *amanuensis*.

But, indeed, had I not known, at the time, of the transaction concerning the acting on the stage and sale of the copy, I should, I think, have seen Mr. Addison in every page of it; for he was above all men in that talent we call Humour, and enjoyed it in such perfection that I have often reflected, after a night spent with him, apart from all the world, that

* See this in p. 458.

I had

I had had the pleasure of converſing with an intimate acquaintance of Terence and Catullus, who had all their wit and nature heightened with humour, more exquisite and delightful than any other man ever poſſeſſed.

They who ſhall read this play, after being let into the ſecret that it was written by Mr. Addiſon, *or under his direction*, will probably be attentive to thoſe excellencies which they before overlooked, and wonder they did not till now obſerve, that there is not an expreſſion in the whole piece which has not in it the moſt nice propriety and aptitude to the character which utters it; here is that ſmiling mirth, that delicate ſatire, and genteel railery, which appeared in Mr. Addiſon when he was free among intimates: I ſay, when he was free from *his remarkable* baſhfulneſs, which is a cloke that hides and muffles merit; and his abilities were covered only by modeſty, which doubles the beauties which are ſeen, and gives credit and eſteem to all that are concealed.

“The Drummer” made no great figure on the ſtage, though exquisitely well acted; but when I obſerve this, I ſay a much harder thing of the ſtage than of the comedy. When I ſay the ſtage in this place, I am [to be] underſtood to mean in general the preſent taſte of theatrical representation, where nothing that is not violent, and, as I may ſay, groſſly delightful, can come

on without hazard of being condemned, or slighted. It is here re-published, and recommended as a closet piece, to recreate an intelligent mind in a vacant hour; for vacant the reader must be from every strong prepossession, in order to relish an entertainment (*quod nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum*) which cannot be enjoyed to the degree it deserves, but by those of the most polite taste among scholars, the best breeding among gentlemen, and the least acquainted with sensual pleasure among the ladies.

The Editor is pleased to relate concerning "Cato," that a play under that design was projected by the author very early, and wholly laid aside; in advanced years he reassumed the same design, and, many years after four acts were finished, he writ the fifth, and brought it upon the stage. All the town knows how officious I was in bringing it on; and you, that know the town, the theatre, and mankind, very well, can judge how necessary it was to take measures for making a performance of that sort, excellent as it is, run into popular applause. I promised before it was acted, and performed my duty accordingly to the author, that I would bring together so just an audience on the first days of it, it should be impossible for the vulgar to put its success or due applause to any hazard; but I do not mention this only to shew how good an aid-de-camp I was to Mr. Addison, but to shew

K k

also

also that the Editor does as much to cloud the merit of this work as I did to set it forth. Mr. Tickell's account of its being taken up, laid down, and at last perfected, after such long intervals and pauses, would make any one believe, who did not know Mr. Addison, that it was accomplished with the greatest pain and labour, and the issue rather of learning and industry than capacity and genius; but I do assure you, that never play, which could bring the author any reputation for wit and conduct, notwithstanding it was so long before it was finished, employed the author so little a time in writing: if I remember right, the fifth act was written in less than a week's time; for this was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about the room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated. I have been often thus employed by him, and never took it into my head, though he only spoke it, and I took all the pains of throwing it upon paper, that I ought to call myself the writer of it. I will put all my credit among men of wit for the truth of my averment, when I presume to say, that no one but Mr. Addison was in any other way the writer of "The Drummer;" at the same time I will al-

I.

low,

low, that he sent for me, which he could always do, from his natural power over me, as much as he could for any of his clerks when he was Secretary of State, and told me that a gentleman then in the room had written a play that he was sure I would like, but it was to be a secret, and he knew I would take as much pains, since he recommended it, as I would for him. I hope nobody will be wronged, or think himself aggrieved, that I give this rejected work where I do; and if a certain gentleman is injured by it, I will allow I have wronged him, upon this issue, that (if the reputed * translator of the first book of Homer shall please to give us another book) there shall appear another good judge in poetry, besides Mr. Alexander Pope, who shall like it. But I detain you too long upon things that are too personal to myself, and will defer giving the world a true notion of the character and talents of Mr. Addison, till I can speak of that amiable gentleman on an occasion void of controversy: I shall then perhaps † say

* It is plain by this passage that Steele knew the *real* translator. Mr. Gay, in a letter to Pope, July 8, 1715, says, "Sir Samuel Garth bid me tell you, that every body is pleased with your translation but a few at Button's; and that Sir Richard Steele told him, that *Mr. Addison* said, Tickell's translation was the best that ever was in any language."

† It may be inferred from this, that Steele intended to give the publick some memoirs of his excellent friend; and perhaps the materials for it may still exist among the papers that were collected towards the Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

K k 2

many

many things of him, which will be new even to you, with regard to him in all parts of his character: for which I was so zealous, that I could not be contented with praising and adorning him as much as lay in my power, but was ever solliciting and putting my friends upon the same office. And since the Editor has adorned his heavy discourse with prose in rhyme at the end of it, upon Mr. Addison's death, give me leave to atone for this long and tedious epistle, by giving you after it, what I dare say you will esteem, an excellent poem on his marriage*. I must

* This was the following poem by Mr. Warton, "addressed to the Countess of Warwick on her Marriage, Aug. 2, 1716:"

"Ambition long has Woman's heart betray'd,
And tinsel grandeur caught th' unwary Maid;
The pompous styles, that strike th' admiring throng,
Have glitter'd in the eye of beauty long:
You, Madam, first the female taste improve,
And give your fellow-charmers laws for love;
A pomp you covet, not to Heralds known,
And sigh for virtues equal to your own;
Part in a man immortal greatly claim,
And frown on titles, to ally with fame;
Not Edward's star, emboss'd with silver rays,
Can vie in glory with thy Consort's bays;
His country's pride does homage to thy charms,
And every merit crowds into thy arms.

While others gain light conquests by their eyes,
'Tis thine with wisdom to subdue the Wise:
To their soft chains while courtly beaux submit,
'Tis thine to lead in triumph captive Wit:
Her fighting vassals let Clarinda boast,
Of lace and languishing cockades the toast;

In

must conclude without satisfying as strong a desire as ever man had of saying something remarkably handsome to the person to whom I am writing; for you are so good a judge, that you will find out the endeavourer to be witty: and therefore, as I have tired you and myself, I will be contented with assuring you, which I do very honestly, I had rather have you satisfied with me on this subject than any other man living.

You will please to pardon me, that I have, thus, laid this nice affair before a person who has the acknowledged superiority to all others, not only in the most excellent talents, but possessing them with an equanimity, candour, and benevolence, which render those advantages a pleasure as great to the rest of the world, as they can be to the owner of them. And since fame consists in the opinion of wise and good men, you must not blame me for taking the readiest way to baffle an attempt upon my reputation,

In Beauty's pride unenvy'd let her reign,
And share that wanton empire with the vain.
For Thee the Arts of Greece and Rome combine;
And all the glories Cato gain'd are thine:
Still Warwick in thy boasted rank of life,
But more illustrious than when Warwick's wife.

Come forth, reveal thyself, thou chosen Bride,
And shew great Nassau's Poet by thy side;
Thy bright example shall instruct the fair,
And future nymphs shall make-renown their care;
Embroidery less shall charm the Virgin's eye,
And kind Coquets for plumes less frequent die;
Secure shall Beauty reign, the Muse its guard;
The Muse shall triumph, Beauty its reward."

K k 3

by

by an address to one whom every wise and good man looks upon with the greatest affection and veneration. I am, Sir, your most obliged, most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

L E T T E R CCCCLVI.

To the KING *.

May it please your Majesty, [1722.]

AFTER having aspired to the highest and most laudable ambition, that of following the cause of Liberty, I should not have humbly petitioned your Majesty for a direction of the theatre, had I not believed success in that province an happiness much to be wished by an honest man, and highly conducing to the prosperity of the commonwealth. It is in this view I lay before your Majesty a Comedy, which the audience, in justice to themselves, has supported and encouraged, and is the prelude of what, by your Majesty's influence and favour, may be attempted in future representations.

The imperial mantle, the royal vestment, and the shining diadem, are what strike ordinary minds; but your Majesty's native goodness, your passion for Justice, and her constant assessor, Mercy, is what continually furrounds

* Prefixed to "The Conscious Lovers."

you,

you, in the view of intelligent spirits, and gives hope to the suppliant, who sees he has more than succeeded in giving your Majesty an opportunity of doing good. Our King is above the greatness of royalty; and every act of his will, which makes another man happy, has ten times more charms in it than one that makes himself appear raised above the condition of others; but even this carries unhappiness with it; for calm dominion, equal grandeur, and familiar greatness, do not easily affect the imagination of the vulgar, who cannot see power but in terror; and as fear moves mean spirits, and love prompts great ones to obey, the insinuations of malcontents are directed accordingly; and the unhappy people are insnared, from want of reflection, into disrespectful ideas of their gracious and amiable Sovereign; and then only begin to apprehend the greatness of their Master when they have incurred his displeasure.

As your Majesty was invited to the throne of a willing people, for their own sakes, and has ever enjoyed it with contempt of the ostentation of it, we beseech you to protect us, who revere your title as we love your person. It is to be savage to be a rebel; and they who have fallen from you have not so much forfeited their allegiance as lost their humanity. And therefore, if it were only to preserve myself from the imputation of being amongst the insensible and
K k 4 abandoned,

abandoned, I would beg permission, in the most public manner possible, to profess myself, with the utmost sincerity and zeal, Sire, your Majesty's most devoted subject and servant,

RICHARD STEELE,

CCCCLVII.

PREFACE to "The Conscious Lovers."

THIS Comedy has been received with universal acceptance, for it was in every part excellently performed; and there needs no other applause of the actors, but that they excelled according to the dignity and difficulty of the character they represented. But this great favour done to the work in acting renders the expectation still the greater from the author, to keep up the spirit in the representation of the closet, or any other circumstance of the reader, whether alone or in company: to which I can only say, that it must be remembered, a play is to be seen, and is made to be represented with the advantage of action, nor can appear but with half the spirit without it; for the greatest effect of a play in reading is, to excite the reader to go see it; and when he does so, it is then a play has the effect of example and precept.

The chief design of this was, to be an innocent performance, and the audience have abundantly

antly shewed how ready they are to support what is visibly intended that way; nor do I make any difficulty to acknowledge, that the whole was writ for the sake of the scene of the fourth act, wherein Mr. Bevill evades the quarrel with his friend; and hope it may have some effect with the Goths and Vandals that frequent the theatres, or a more polite audience may supply their absence.

This incident, and the case of the father and daughter, are esteemed by some people no subjects of comedy; but I cannot be of their mind; for any thing that has its foundation in happiness and success must be allowed to be the object of comedy; and sure it must be an improvement of it, to introduce a joy too exquisite for laughter, that can have no spring but in delight, which is the case of this young lady. I must therefore contend, that the tears which were shed on that occasion flowed from reason and good sense, and that men ought not to be laughed at for weeping, till we are come to a more clear notion of what is to be imputed to the hardness of the head and the softness of the heart; and I think it was very politely said of Mr. Wilks, to one who told him there was a General weeping for Indiana, "I'll warrant he'll fight ne'er the worse for that." To be apt to give way to the impressions of humanity, is the excellence of a right disposition, and the natural

natural working of a well-turned spirit. But as I have suffered by critics who are got no farther than to enquire whether they ought to be pleased or not, I would willingly find them properer matter for their employment, and revive here a song, which was omitted for want of a performer, and designed for the entertainment of Indiana. Signor Carbonelli, instead of it, played on the fiddle; and it is for want of a finger that such advantageous things are said of an instrument which were designed for a voice. The song is the distress of a love-sick maid, and may be a fit entertainment for some small critics, to examine whether the passion is just, or the distress male or female.

From place to place forlorn I go,
 With downcast eyes a silent shade;
 Forbidden to declare my woe;
 To speak, till spoken to, afraid.

My inward pangs, my secret grief,
 My soft consenting looks betray;
 He loves, but gives me no relief;
 Why speaks not he who may?

It remains to say a word concerning Terence; and I am extremely surprised to find what Mr. Cibber told me prove a truth: That what I valued myself so much upon, the translation of him, should be imputed to me as a reproach. Mr. Cibber's zeal for the work, his care and application

application in instructing the actors, and altering the disposition of the scenes, when I was, through sickness, unable to cultivate such things myself, has been a very obliging favour and friendship to me. For this reason, I was very hardly persuaded to throw away Terence's celebrated funeral, and take only the bare authority of the young man's character; and how I have worked it into an Englishman, and made use of the same circumstances of discovering a daughter when we least hoped for one, is humbly submitted to the learned reader.

CCCCLVIII.

AN EPIGRAM,

Sacred to the Memory of Sir RICHARD STEELE*.

NATURE hath made it the condition of existence to live but for a time under any one mode; and when that period is expired, every thing changes, and gives way to a new succession. The finest movements of her workmanship must fall to pieces, when the hours assigned them are fulfilled; and the greatest masterpiece of creation must be no more, when it has performed the uses for which alone it was created. Thus the brave and base, the learned and illiterate, the wise and foolish, are destined to an equal fate; and the most intelligent mind,

* Originally printed, immediately after his death, in "The British Journal, or the Censor, Sept. 13, 1729."

however

however different in life, is the same in death with the most vacant soul, or vegetative being.

But memory still preserves the fair idea of exalted worth, and faithful history conveys it down to very late posterity. It is then a grateful generous labour to consecrate the great man's fame, to raise him monuments of praise and glory ; and, whilst the marble poorly shews he only lived and died, the nobler and more lasting work shall witness wherein mankind were better from his actions, or may be happier by his good example.

And now we come to pay the debt of justice ; for we come to honour the manes of heroic worth : whilst weeping friends or sorrowful relations bewail the lot of nature, and blame a very equitable fate ; let us return a much more grateful tribute than tears, and express the acknowledgements his virtues deserved, whilst they bestow the sighs he does not want.

Sir RICHARD STEELE lies dead before us, and the great British CENSOR is no more ! He is now gone to rest, whose active genius laboured so long for our welfare. Let our liberty and our happiness praise him. These we derived in an eminent degree from his illustrious endeavours ; and his name is worthy of a lasting remembrance by all who love their country. But why do I say their country, since he, who lived a universal good, deserves the thanks of all mankind ; and he who struggles for the liberties of men
does

does a benefit to the whole species. Nothing can be a more common good, or a more diffusive blessing, than freedom, which is the great foundation-stone of happiness. It is, therefore, that we pay distinguished honours to our late departed friend, and pronounce Sir Richard Steele a benefactor to the human species.

This excellent man was born to a fortune much inferior to his merits: his early life was formed in camps, and seasoned to the toils of war; yet, greatly brave, and of unquestioned honour, his was a lettered genius, nor fond of military glory. He shone distinguished, even whilst in humble privacy; obscured not more by his low rank in life than by his native modesty. Here he was selected by the brave Lord Cutts*, whose discernment knew the noble genius even in the private soldier. That gallant man was his generous, disinterested patron; raised him to a better fate, and placed him in the light that he deserved. And this alone was a glorious virtue; all the services Sir Richard Steele did afterwards render to his country, all the honour and reputation he acquired by his actions or writings; all these were owing to Lord Cutts, who, when he raised a deserving man, did the world a benefit. Fair example, to men of power, whose influence on the happiness of mankind is very great and important,

* See above, p. 279.

if

if only considered in those whom they draw up after them. Here they have ample opportunities to bless the future generations, since, by judiciously discerning and promoting merit, however humble or obscure, they leave the most valuable legacies to the people and times which succeed them.

Such a legacy was Sir Richard Steele, who wanted nothing more to make him useful than to be known. He had great vivacity and ready address; was diffident of his own judgement, and yielding to other men: he had fine wit and true humour; a wit which was candid and good-natured: he was always willing to do good offices, and far from being envious of merit in other men. Hence he was loved and honoured by all men. None was more happy or extensive in his acquaintance: none was a more agreeable companion, or useful friend. This was his private life, and this might well recommend him to public esteem.

To him we owe that invaluable work which he commenced in "The Tatler," and, assisted by the immortal labours of his ingenious friend Mr. Addison, carried into numerous volumes*. Here he

* The very commendable and spirited writer of this sentimental essay, evidently includes, under the general name of TATLER, all the valuable periodical papers which STEELE began under this first title, and continued to publish for the entertainment and instruction of his countrymen, daily, or occasionally, for many years, under the diversified titles of "The Spectator," "The Guardian,"

he began a work which at once refined our language and improved our morals. None ever attempted with more success to form the mind to virtue, or polish the manners of common life; none ever touched the passions in that pleasing, prevailing method, or so well inculcated the most useful and instructive lessons. I say, none did ever thus happily perform so important a work as these illustrious colleagues, who, by adapting themselves to the pleasures, promoted the best virtues of human nature; insinuated themselves by all the arts of fine persuasion; employed the most delicate wit and humour in the cause of truth and good sense; nor gave offence to the most rigid devotees, or loosest debauchees, but soon grew popular, though advocates of virtue.

"Guardian," "The Englishman," "The Lover," "The Spinster," "The Reader," "The Town-talk," "The Tea-table," "The Plebeian," &c. They make in all very many volumes; but as "The Spinster," "The Tea-table," "The Town-talk," and "The Plebeian," were never re-published, the Editor of this work would be glad to be furnished with complete sets of all, or of any of them, in their original folio or octavo form. They are wanted, not only for the purpose of re-publishing them in volumes with notes and illustrations, but also for the sake of a work in preparation, which, if it can be brought to answer in any tolerable manner the idea of its projector, may be intitled, "A Critical Review of the Life and Writings of Sir RICHARD STEELE."—N. B. The Editor has got a very perfect set of "The Theatre," which likewise can only be procured at present (and that not without difficulty) in its half-sheet state; and which therefore he will speedily re-print.

This

This was laying the axe to the root of vice and immorality. All the pulpit discourses of a year scarce produced half the good as flowed from the Spectator of a day*. They who were tired and lulled to sleep by a long and laboured harangue, or terrified at the appearance of large and weighty volumes, could chearfully attend to a single half-sheet, where they found the images of Virtue so lively and amiable, where Vice was so agreeably ridiculed that it grew painful to no man to part with his beloved follies; nor was he easy till he had practised those qualities which charmed so much in speculation. Thus good nature and good sense became habitual to their readers. Every morning they were instructed in some new principle of duty, which was endeared to them by the beauties of description; and thereby impressed on their minds in the most indelible characters.

Such a work as this, in a Roman age, would have been more glorious than a public triumph; statues would have been raised, and medals have been struck, in honour of the authors. Antiquity had so high a sense of gratitude for the communication of knowledge, that they worshiped their lawgivers, and deified the fathers of

* For instruction in common life, "nothing is so proper as frequent publication of short papers, which we read not as a study but amusement. If the subject be slight, the treatise likewise is short. The busy may find time, and the idle may find patience." Dr, JOHNSON.

science.

science. How then must they have acknowledged services like these, where every man grew wiser and better by the fine instruction!

Yet we must not leave Sir Richard Steele on this point, nor rest his merits on the glory of a plan which was so well performed by him and his immortal friend; which was never interlarded with scandal or faction, and which was a satire on vices, not men *. No, we must conduct him to

* Mr. Newcomb, in a satire published in 1712, under the title of "Bibliotheca; a Poem, occasioned by the sight of a Modern Library," after describing the progress of OBLIVION in a manner to which the GODDESS OF THE DUNCIAD bears a more than accidental resemblance, thus animatedly describes our Author:

"Still to proceed the Goddess try'd,
Till STEELE's immortal works espy'd;
Trembling her dreaded foe to view,
She sunk, and silently withdrew,
While Sarum's labours, round her spread,
Sustain and prop her drowsy head.

Hail, mighty name! of all thy pen
Has dropt, to charm both gods and men,
Time nor oblivion ne'er shall boast
One line or single period lost!
Improving youth, and hoary age,
Are better'd by thy matchless page;
And, what no mortal could devise,
Women, by reading thee, grow wise;
Divines had taught, and husbands rav'd,
Now threat'ned, then as poorly crav'd,
But, spite of all, the stubborn dame
Remain'd our curse, and still the same;
Modish and flippant as before,
The smoothing paint and patch are wore;
Two hours each morning spent to dress,
And not one ounce of tea the less:

L. J.

While

to higher scenes than these—conduct him to his seat in parliament, and describe his behaviour in the councils of his country.

He lived in the crisis of honesty, when, as Sir William Temple well expressed it, a brave man had a hard part to act, and it was dishonourable at Court to have truth and integrity. He lived when party rage and priestly pride ran high: when the church was in danger, and the rabble were orthodox:

While the provoking idiot vows
Her lover fairer much than spouse.
Great Socrates but vainly try'd,
To sooth the passions of his bride;
Her female empire still she holds,
And as he preaches peace, she scolds:
In vain he talks, in vain he writes;
One kissing, while the other bites;
Precepts with her, and moral rules,
Are only ginns to hamper fools;
And, preach and dictate what he will,
Madam persists Xantippe still.
But wedlock by thy art is got
To be a soft and easy knot;
Which smiling spouse and kinder bride
Now seldom with should be unty'd;
Think parting now the greatest sin,
And strive more close to draw the ginne
Taught by those rules thy pen instills,
Nobly to conquer human ills;
The female sufferer now sustains
Each mournful loss with lessen'd pains;
A week is now enough to pine,
When puking lap-dog cannot dine;
While grief as real swells her eyes
When spouse, as when her parrot, dies.
The fop no longer shall believe
Sense ty'd to every modish sleeve,

Nor,

orthodox : when religious mobbings and factious incendiaries laboured to overthrow the constitution, and prevailed against an Administration, great in their abilities and uncommon success; a Ministry the boast of our nation, the glory of their own times, and the veneration of these. Nor did the faction stop at this; they even shocked the succession itself; and that illustrious Family, now on our throne, had a doubtful prospect whilst we were so divided a people.

And

Nor, conscious of his wants, presume
To measure merit by perfume;
That courage in Pulvilio dwells,
The boldest he, who strongest smells;
To prove his sense, no longer bring
The doughty proofs of box and ring;
Strongly professing ne'er to know
An ass conceal'd beneath a beau;
Each taught by thee, shall hence confess
Virtue has no regard for dress;
That the bright nymph as often dwells
In homely bays as rural cells;
And in a ruff as fairly shin'd,
As now to modern peak confin'd;
Blushing, thus half expos'd to view,
Both herself and mistress too.

The widow, pining for her dear,
Shall curse no more the tedious year;
In sighs consume each pensive day,
Nor think it long from June to May.
See how the pensive relief lies,
Oppress'd with spouse's fate, and dies;
That Betty with her drops in vain
Recalls her flying soul again;
No colour now so fair appears,
As is the sable vest she wears,
To be her only garment vow'd,
Till death exchange it for a

L. 1 2 Throud,

And

And here the worthy person, to whom we pay deserved honours, rose with noble courage in that dangerous conjuncture : he thought inactivity infamous whilst ALL was at stake ; and his private interest was below his regard, when his country's happiness became precarious : he did not, like little temporizing patriots, stay till his place was taken from him, he bravely resigned it before he commenced his opposition ; and his Letter to the then Lord Treasurer, since published to the world *, may shew how much he disdained any interest which might bias his judgement, or pervert his duty to the publick.

And her cold ashes kindly place

Once more within her lord's embrace.

The ladies, pleas'd with thee to dwell,

Aspire to write correct, and spell :

We scarce behold, though writ in haste,

Five letters in a score misplac'd ;

Marshall'd in rank they all appear,

With no front vowels in the rear,

Nor any, out of shame or dread,

Skulking behind, that should have led ;

In every line they now demur,

'Tis now no longer *Wurthee Surr* ;

With half our usual sweat and pain,

We both unravel and explain,

Nor call-in foreign aid to find,

In mystic terms, the fair-one's mind.

Maintain, great Sage, thy deathless name,

Thou canst no wider stretch thy fame,

Till, gliding from her native skies,

Virtue once more delighted flies ;

By each adoring Patriot own'd,

And boasts herself by thee enthron'd !"

* See it in p. 371.

In

In this proceeding he acted worthy of himself; he spoke in parliament, and appeared from the press, with a warm and generous freedom: he differed from those in authority, without libelling their persons; no scandalous parallels, no ungentlemanlike invectives, or womanish railings, are to be found in his writings: he spoke to facts, and things of public concern; nor invented, nor revived any little stories to blacken the reputation of others: in short, he was at war with no man's fortunes or places; and he greatly despised all lucrative considerations.

Add this to his character, he had an enthusiasm of honour, insomuch, that he was always most ready to appear for the truth when it was most difficult and dangerous: he thought himself obliged to stand in the breach when no man else would; and his intrepidity was a public advantage.

Witness his memorable Address to the Clergy in defence of the Revolution*; I mean his "Crisis," for which he was immortalized by the resentment of his enemies, and by the noble stand he made against them in his brave defence: For this he was expelled the House of Commons, whilst he triumphed in the judgement of his country; and raised such a spirit in the people by his writings, as greatly contributed to

* See p. 390.

STEELE'S LETTERS.

save our declining liberties, and establish the precarious succession.

Such was his conduct, such his character, which was invariably honest; he flattered not his friends in their power, nor insulted his enemies in their distress: he opposed any measures which he could not approve, and exactly adhered to that excellent sentence, *fari quæ sentiat*.

This, indeed, was his principle; and if ever man always acted inviolably by his opinion, or dared to preserve his integrity upon all occasions, Sir Richard Steele was the person.

And here we leave our common friend, here we drop the sacred pall on his last remains. It is not our business to shew his foibles, or expose the blemishes of an excellent man to whom we owe so much; those who loved him less will be fond of this: but we have pronounced his *elogium*, and honoured his virtues. Let his warm heart for liberty and virtue, his great benevolence, that never saw distress without compassion, or spared to lend his hand when he could give assistance—Let these engage our attention, and become our great example. Vice and Folly are always to be lamented; we heartily wish them out of the world, and can have no delight to lay them to the charge of our departed friends, whose actions should only survive them whilst they may influence posterity in the pursuits of Virtue.

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